



Daily Report

Soviet Union

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Last SS-20 Missile Destroyed in Rovno Oblast

*LD0506055891 Moscow Central Television First
Program Network in Russian 2106 GMT 4 Jun 91*

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] In keeping with the Soviet-American treaty, the last SS-20 missile in the USSR has been destroyed. A report from Rovno Oblast.

[Correspondent L. Ilchenko] Three years ago saw the start of the dismantling of launch pads and means of transportation for the delivery and loading of SS-20 missiles, but this time it is an event of special importance: the 509th and last missile installation of this class is being destroyed. By invitation of the military, representatives of the public, journalists from various publications, radio, and tv, and foreign guests have come to the base. Among them are high-ranking Soviet and American military men. The liquidation was observed by an inspection group from the United States led by Major General Robert Parker. And now the operation is completed. The last SS-20 missile installation has been destroyed.

[Begin Major General V.I. Medvedev recording] This is the finale of a three-year period of fulfillment for the treaty on medium-range missiles. In practice the treaty will operate indefinitely. For 13 years there will be inspections. [end recording]

Comment on Outcome of Baker-Bessmertnykh Talks

*LD0406153891 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service
in English 2300 GMT 3 Jun 91*

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary]

[Text] Moscow and Washington have spoken highly of the agreement reached by the Soviet foreign minister, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, and the American secretary of state, James Baker, in Lisbon to resolve the differences on a treaty for conventional arms in Europe. Here's a commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov. He writes the following:

The hard problem was settled at last. By both countries' efforts with diplomats, military officials, and presidents

themselves taking part, a mutually acceptable solution was worked out and it looks like a treaty on conventional arms in Europe will be ratified and come into force very soon. Signed in Paris back in November of last year by 22 states, the treaty provides for scrapping more than 100,000 pieces of arms including tanks, armored vehicles, and artillery guns deployed across Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

What's significant is that by this treaty the Soviet Union will reduce by seven times the arms it has compared with that of NATO. Although the differences between the USSR and the United States concern mainly three Soviet divisions or about 1 percent of the reducible weapons, nonetheless they were a real stumbling block through several months. Washington linked solution to this problem with nearly all aspects of bilateral ties including progress at START negotiations, preparation for a summit, and even economic cooperation. Observers were guessing whether the USSR president was influenced by opponents to the rapprochement with America and whether the U.S. president got cooler to better ties with the Soviet Union. This is why the accords reached in Lisbon are so important. They reiterate the mutual desire and determination of Moscow and Washington to work together in order to achieve more trust and interaction. As President Bush remarked at West Point: This is good for world peace and for U.S.-Soviet relations.

Indeed, it's as if a huge stone has been removed from the road to reopen it to traffic. Judging by official statements, the delegations in Geneva have been instructed to speed up work to complete a treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive arms so this could be signed at the upcoming summit in Moscow. Simultaneously, forecasts are being made that this meeting can take place at the end of June or early July.

There have also been encouraging reports from Washington about steps toward closer trade and economic ties. Apparently there is now a situation where the Soviet Union and the United States can understand each other's interests better and show more good will than ever before. That's the basis for this unique opportunity of finding mutually acceptable solutions to complex problems. Perhaps this process should be accelerated to make up for the lost time over the differences concerning the conventional arms accord.

Bessmertnykh Comments on Lisbon Talks With Baker

PM0406141591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Jun 91 Union Edition p 4

[Diplomatic correspondent M. Yusin report: "Productive Dialogue in Lisbon. Results of Aleksandr Bessmertnykh's Trip"]

[Text] Lisbon-Moscow—USSR Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh returned to Moscow on Sunday night, ending his two-day visit to the Portuguese capital. During the trip he met with Portuguese Foreign Minister De Deus Pinheiro, Prime Minister Cavaco Silva, President Mario Soares, UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, Angolan President Dos Santos, and Savimbi, leader of Angola's National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] opposition grouping. He took part in the signing of an agreement on a peaceful settlement in Angola and held talks with U.S. Secretary of State Baker and Syrian Foreign Minister al-Shar, who had arrived in Lisbon unexpectedly.

Angola: From War to Peace

Commenting, at the request of the journalists accompanying him, on the situation in Angola following the 31 May signing of the peace agreements, Bessmertnykh said that for the first time in 30 years of war the country has a chance to move to a peaceful life. But this, as he put it, will be a very difficult transition. An entire generation of people has grown up in Angola not knowing what peace is. It will be necessary to a certain extent to break through the people's mind-set. The main groupings involved in the conflict also face a difficult restructuring.

UNITA, which emerged and still exists as a paramilitary organization, should adapt to new methods of fighting for power—democratic and parliamentary methods—which have hitherto been unknown in the country. For its part, the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola faces a no less complex evolution. The party, which used to have a monopoly on power, will have to learn to live in a multiparty system and come to terms with the existence of an opposition, which for many years Luanda has been accustomed to viewing only through rifle sights.

Nonetheless, Bessmertnykh is, on the whole, optimistic and believes that the signed agreement, envisioning the holding of democratic elections in the fall of 1992, will be observed by both sides. He noted that irrespective of the election results, Angola and the USSR will remain friendly states: During the Lisbon talks both Dos Santos and Savimbi expressed readiness to maintain normal relations.

Soviet-Portuguese Relations: Economics Lags Behind Politics

Summing up the results of his talks with Portuguese leaders, Bessmertnykh said that he was satisfied with the development of political relations between our countries and their collaboration in the international arena. At the same time, the potential for economic cooperation remains unexploited. "President Soares and I agreed to

devote priority attention to the development of economic ties," Bessmertnykh said.

Conventional Arms: Differences Virtually Eliminated

A major breakthrough achieved during Bessmertnykh's meeting with Secretary of State Baker was that the differences over the CFE Treaty signed in Paris last November were virtually eliminated. As Bessmertnykh put it in conversation with journalists in the aircraft en route from Lisbon to Moscow, "the huge stone which was in our way has been removed; now we just have to agree on certain formulas." In his words, U.S. experts should arrive in the USSR Monday and should begin work the next day with their Soviet colleagues on clarifying the last technical details.

"Problems once emerged because the Soviet Union and the Western countries had different interpretations of Article 3 of the Paris Treaty with regard to land-based weapons within the scope of the treaty," Bessmertnykh said. "As a result of painstaking efforts we were able to find mutually acceptable options which safeguard the interests of all sides and make it possible to observe all levels and sublevels set by the treaty. Considerable progress was achieved during the recent trip to the United States by General Moiseyev, chief of the General Staff. In Lisbon Baker and I managed to remove the last differences." At the final press conference the secretary of state also expressed satisfaction at the progress achieved.

One can conclude from the comments made by U.S. diplomats and journalists that the compromise option the sides ultimately arrived at was somewhat nearer the initial U.S. position than it was to the Soviet position. Neither Baker nor Bessmertnykh, however, went into detail or specified who had made the greater concessions.

Strategic Offensive Weapons Treaty: Several Technical Issues Remain

As for a treaty on strategic offensive weapons, in the Soviet minister's assessment, currently "a few purely technical details are yet to be agreed: There are two or three such points, or, if we include quite trivial points, four or five. These points are so technical that not all military men have a clear grasp of what is at issue. Not to mention diplomats. At one of the meetings Baker admitted: 'I understand absolutely nothing of what we've just been saying.' Indeed, diplomats now depend on military technical experts to a very great extent.

"The secretary of state and I," Bessmertnykh said, "agreed that as soon as the work on a conventional arms treaty was over we would concentrate all our efforts on a strategic offensive weapons agreement. If we are able to prepare this treaty for signing in three or four weeks' time (which is physically possible if we have no sleep) there will be a real prospect of staging a summit this summer."

Informed sources [sobesedniki] believe it highly probable that Bush and Gorbachev will meet in Moscow at the very

end of June or in the first half of July—before the London "G-7" conference of the major Western states.

Gorbachev Will Most Probably Go to London

Most "G-7" members have already come out in support of the idea that the Soviet president should participate in the London conference. France, the FRG, and Italy unambiguously support the proposal. Canada and Britain—the host nation—are very well-disposed toward it. Japan's position has been reserved, but it is not putting up any active opposition. Judging by everything, the U.S. opinion will be decisive. At the press conference Baker avoided giving a direct answer to the question of whether Washington supports the Soviet president's participation in the London conference. "We are currently studying the various options for whether Mr. Gorbachev will come to London before, during, or after our meeting," he said.

Bessmertnykh has almost no doubt that Gorbachev will go to London: "I get the impression that the 'G-7' is actively preparing to meet with our president. Such a meeting will be successful, I hope." In his words, many people in the West have a mistaken view of Gorbachev's motives for wanting to travel to London. "Certain people believe that our only aim is to ask our rich uncles for money. This is wrong. President Gorbachev intends to address the leaders of the major Western states in order to give them a clear idea of the aims of our reform and the state of the economy. We want to propose a number of major mutually advantageous economic projects and to discuss ways of integrating the Soviet economy with the world economy. Everyone has an interest in that."

Near East: The Problems in the Way of a Conference Persist

Directly before leaving Lisbon Bessmertnykh met with Syrian Foreign Minister al-Shar', who was in Portugal to obtain a message for President Hafiz al-Asad brought by Baker from George Bush. So far nothing is known of the content of this document. "I am not authorized to say anything about that," al-Shar' told journalists.

As for the talks between the Syrian and Soviet ministers, Bessmertnykh was pleased with them: "We have moved a little further down the road to mutual understanding." However, it is obvious that Syria's main objections to the Soviet-backed U.S. plan to hold a peace conference on the Near East remain. Damascus is insisting that it be held under UN auspices and not degenerate into bilateral talks. There were also differences regarding the approach to the problem of Palestinian representation. At the same time, as Soviet diplomats put it, certain new points have appeared in the Syrian position which make it possible to hope for a more flexible approach in the future.

NATO Cuts Termed Due to Gorbachev Policy

PM0406133591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 May 91 Second Edition p 4

[V. Peresada report: "Flags in Rotterdam. NATO's Own Perestroika"]

[Text] Rotterdam, 28 May—As I approached "De Doelen," the largest concert hall in Rotterdam, where the spring session of the North Atlantic Assembly was going on, I saw 22 flags instead of 16. And among them was our own Soviet flag.

The unexpected protocol gesture reflected the main feature of the present session. Although about two years ago parliamentarians from the Warsaw Pact member states established ties with the North Atlantic Assembly, in which the NATO countries' parliaments are represented, delegations from beyond the former "Iron Curtain" had been coming to such meetings as guests until now. Now, however, for the first time they came to the session as "associated delegates," that is, with the permanent right to attend and participate in its work.

What can be singled out in the debates at the session? First of all, the general recognition of the need to restructure, or as they say here, "rebalance" NATO in view of the positive changes in Europe and in East-West relations as a whole. Practically every speaker advocated shifting the emphasis from the military aspect of the alliance's activity to the political one. The session welcomed the elaboration of a new NATO strategy which is being conducted in this direction, including the intention to reduce armed forces and move them back from the "border with the East." At the same time, firm support was expressed for the NATO leadership's plan to ensure exceptionally high troop mobility so that the "necessary defense capability in the alliance's zone of responsibility" can be maintained with a smaller numerical strength.

A great deal of attention was paid to the future European security system. Proceeding on the basis of the idea that this system is unthinkable without the East European countries and the Soviet Union, the participants in the meeting believe, however, that NATO should be the main prop for security on the continent. This was most clearly manifest in the speeches by the U.S., British, and Netherlands representatives. What kind of a role can be assigned to the CSCE process, which, as was said here, "cannot be an alternative to NATO"? I gained the impression that at the moment it is still seen mainly not as a mechanism for cooperation, but as a kind of communications channel with the East, particularly the USSR.

The lessons of the Persian Gulf war served as an incentive for the session to elaborate a document which, in my view, is of great and practical international significance. This is the draft resolution on the nonproliferation of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, as well as state-of-the-art military technologies in the Near East. It contains a proposal to convene an international conference on this question in which the United States,

Britain, France, the USSR, and other interested countries would participate. The Soviet parliamentary delegation expressed a positive attitude toward the North Atlantic Assembly's initiative.

I asked delegation head V.G. Kucherenko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Planning, Budget, and Finance Commission, to share his impressions of the session's work:

"Since we have been active participants in the session instead of passive onlookers and we have spoken in all its commissions during the debates, we have formed many impressions. Without exaggeration, the main thing is the West's universal concern about the state of affairs in our country and the clearly expressed interest in ensuring that the situation in the USSR stabilizes as quickly as possible. Many reports contained not only an analysis of the situation, but also attempts to suggest some kind of solutions and, in general, support for the reforms being carried out in our country and the hope that they will lead the USSR out of the crisis and preserve it as a renewed state.

"At the same time, the instability in our country is being used as one of the main reasons for keeping and even developing NATO, which is being praised as the virtual future guarantee of European security. A definite division of the former East into East European countries and the Soviet Union can be traced."

And here is the opinion of a military man. Our interlocutor is Army General V.N. Lobov, a member of the delegation:

"I have participated in a number of previous assembly sessions and, comparing them, I would like to say: Whereas before the USSR was constantly reproached for various things, now there was no criticism; instead there was concern and a desire to help us, partly, of course, in the interests of their own security.

"Another new aspect is the redistribution of NATO efforts, including in the military sphere. Here a great deal is still unclear and, though there are positive trends, there are also others which require cautious approaches and assessments on our part. But what I would like to note is this. It is sometimes said in our country that we are disarming unilaterally and there is no reaction from NATO. This meeting showed once again that such opinions are erroneous. There was talk of reductions in armed forces, and, what is more, substantial ones, reductions in military budgets, and the general perestroika of NATO in the new conditions. In short, Gorbachev's policy is bearing tangible fruit."

Analysis of NATO Revamping

PM0406110591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 31 May 91 First Edition p 3

[Major M. Zheglov commentary under the "International Notes" heading: "Priority to the Bloc 'Base'"]

[Text] A joint session of the NATO Military Planning Committee and the Nuclear Planning Group has completed its work at North Atlantic Alliance headquarters in Brussels. Such events have always attracted attention, the more so now in the light of universal changes which have taken place on the European continent. So evident are these changes that, for the first time since the London meeting between government heads of this organization's member countries, NATO representatives at this session earnestly set about practically implementing plans to alter their strategy.

It is clear from the documents adopted at the session that NATO intends to remain ready to react effectively in possible crisis situations. Today, understandably, the bloc links such possibilities with Third World countries and the instability in Central and Eastern Europe.

The means chosen for this are many and varied. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already reported on the proposal for rapid deployment forces, the establishment in the Mediterranean of a permanently operational strategic military and naval grouping, and so on. The last session approved the allies' plan to gamble on creating highly mobile formations which are ready for military action far beyond Europe's borders. In the same way, NATO retains the right and possibility of using military might outside of the bloc's traditional framework of responsibility, in the Near East for example.

NATO's commitment to the concept of nuclear deterrence, albeit "minimal," as the document adopted at the session states, was also reiterated. However, NATO's nuclear potential is far from small. According to the ecological organization "Greenpeace," which staged a protest action at NATO headquarters on the opening day of the session, the bloc still has 4,000 nuclear weapons targeted at Central and Eastern Europe.

Yet again an attempt was made at the NATO meeting to drive home the idea that security in the foreseeable future can only be ensured on the basis of the North Atlantic Alliance. That is, priority is given to the bloc "base" and not to a system of interstate relations as stipulated in the Paris Charter for a New Europe.

Of course, we cannot forget that if NATO retains a powerful military component to the detriment of the bloc's stated politicization, the Soviet Union will also be in an unusual position. After all, NATO's new strategy will continue to be based on the fact that the military might of an unstable USSR constitutes the main threat to West European security.

The bloc's new strategy is expected to be definitively confirmed this fall at a top-level meeting of NATO participant countries. In these heady times, a lot can happen in the next few months. I would like to hope that events will lead NATO to more substantial and fundamental changes.

Supreme Soviet

Lukyanov Reports on Union Treaty Progress

LD0406141691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 1000 GMT 4 Jun 91

[Text] In today's news bulletin we will tell you about the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet session. In the morning, Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov addressed deputies with information on the results of yesterday's meeting of the preparatory committee for elaborating and signing the Union treaty. Here is a recording:

[Begin Lukyanov recording] This work proceeded in quite a constructive spirit. From the very outset the participants agreed not to open a general discussion, but to proceed by sections and articles. As a result, over the course of more than 10 hours all the observations submitted had been examined, and an overall view had been found and elaborated on the overwhelming majority of articles. I am talking about the principles of the structure of our federation, citizenship, territory, the inviolability of the current borders between the republics, Union property, the supremacy of Union and republican laws in definite spheres, and a whole number of other provisions in the draft.

Of particular significance is the fact that, in effect without any serious observations, articles were agreed on delineating powers between the USSR and the republics, and on the spheres relating to the exclusive rights of the Union and to its joint rights with the republics. This is, of course, very considerable, comrades, and I have to tell you that even such issues as energy, fuel resources, and all other such issues, after painstaking elaboration, literally on every word, were agreed. The remaining issues, and there are such issues, will receive supplementary elaboration in the course of the coming days. The revised text of the draft will be sent to the supreme soviets of the republics and to the USSR Supreme Soviet. Such was the agreement with the president.

Of the contentious issues, the greatest differences were caused by the following: the title of the treaty. Comrade Nishanov and I, in accordance with your instructions, insisted on the title Union Treaty. But the majority prefer the draft to bear the title Treaty on the Union of Sovereign States. In the text itself, however, the USSR is defined as a sovereign federative democratic state formed as a result of the voluntary association of equal republics. On the name of the country, the majority of the preparatory committee favored it being called the Union of Soviet Sovereign Republics, citing the fact that the nature of the social system is not normally reflected in the name of the state. We have discussed this on several occasions here. In accordance with the view of the Supreme Soviet, the Congress, and the results of the referendum, we also stated the view that this issue can only be decided by the Congress of People's Deputies itself and the people in a referendum, in line with the draft constitution. If the name is to change, then it can only do so in this way.

There was a serious argument on the issue of Union taxes and dues. Moreover, all those attending the meeting, with the exception of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, advocated the establishment of Union taxes and dues and on a two-tier or multitier system of taxation. Yeltsin stated that this issue should be addressed and submitted to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet by the new president of the Russian Federation.

There was also a very detailed exchange of views on the involvement and role of the former autonomous formations, and it was agreed that representatives of all the republics, all the former autonomous formations—and all of them are now republics—will sign the treaty independently. Moreover, the former autonomous formations of the Russian Federation will sign together with the Russian Federation, after the Russian Federation's delegation, but separately. The issue of quotas for representation of the autonomous formations and republics has not been finally resolved. Two versions have been worked out. They will be revised and reported to you, so that the republics might have equal quotas in the Soviet of the Republic and in the Soviet of Nationalities. There will be further discussion on this, but in any case, there will be equal quotas.

I would like to tell you, comrades, that a very important article has been included in the text of the new draft which will be presented to you later. This article is called: Continuity of Supreme Organs of the Union. It says the following, and it was supported by all those taking part: With a view to ensuring the continuity of state power and administration, the supreme legislative and judicial organs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics retain their powers until the creation of the supreme state organs of the Union of Soviet Sovereign Republics in accordance with the present treaty and the new USSR Constitution. These things have been written down.

I would also like to report to you, comrades, that as all members of the Federation Council were present at this meeting. They adopted the following statement. I think it will be published today. It is linked with the fact that a massive process is currently under way to deport great numbers of the Ossetian population from Georgia. You know that there are 170,000 Ossetians living on the territory of Georgia. Regarding this, the following statement was adopted by the Federation Council. I think it will be published, but I would like the Supreme Soviet to have prior knowledge of this.

The Federation Council discussed the difficult situation in the North Ossetian Soviet Socialist Republic. A flow of refugees from South Ossetia, Tbilisi, and other regions of Georgia is on the increase. Citizens of Ossetian nationality are being pushed to leave the republic. They are being sacked and they have to leave their homes and possessions because of the whipping up of ethnic intolerance toward the Ossetian population. The situation is aggravated by the fact that tens of thousands of South Ossetian families have lost their homes as a result of the earthquake. The Federation Council resolutely condemns

this policy and classifies it as a crude violation of the USSR Constitution and international pacts on human rights. The Georgian leadership must renounce the antidemocratic and inhumane course aimed at squeezing Ossetian nationals from the republic. It must act in accordance with the principles of democracy, adherence to which they constantly stress. The Union bodies must take necessary measures to defend the legitimate rights and interests of Soviet citizens who are subject to resettlement. [end recording]

Lukyanov Reviews Supreme Soviet Successes

LD0306202891 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1640 GMT 3 Jun 91

[From the "Parliamentary Diary" program, presented by Leonid Lazarevich]

[Text] [Lazarevich] Our full-time union parliament marked its second anniversary today. Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, recalled this fact when he opened the morning session. He summed up the two years of work, which he described as highly fruitful:

[Begin Lukyanov recording] The times were of course difficult, very difficult, for the country. And, unquestionably, they were just as difficult for us here. In spite of all this, the Supreme Soviet has done a very great deal of work. The work it has done is truly great. No matter what you might say, no matter what requiems you might perform for the Supreme Soviet and its activities, this work has ushered in great advances. There have been virtually no questions of any importance which the Supreme Soviet has overlooked. Unquestionably its work was dominated by economic questions, economic reform, and the move toward the market. Interethnic relations occupied a very big place. Seven major laws on interethnic questions were adopted, as well as a whole series of decisions and appeals on relations between republics, decisions on questions of autonomy and so on.

I have to tell you that, as far as legislative work is concerned, there has never such a period in the history of the Supreme Soviet. Never before has so much work been done in a two-year period. The Supreme Soviet, together with the congress, adopted 113 most important laws. But the important thing is not the number of laws but the type of problems tackled in these laws. They included property, land, leasing, enterprises, cooperatives, and entrepreneurship. They also included dozens of economic problems. On the other hand, there was a whole package of questions connected with the maintenance and protection of human rights, with the expansion of human rights. Neither have we overlooked international issues. And, finally, we gradually began to make progress in checking on the implementation of laws. We also studied agricultural questions, land usage, and price setting. We thoroughly investigated questions connected with saving the Aral Sea, with Chernobyl. We heard

reports from most of the ministers and, therefore, acquainted ourselves with the situation in the corresponding industries.

But, clearly, these are only the first steps. We will still have to assimilate this work. And Supreme Soviet committees and commissions have played a very great role in this matter. So we have every reason to say that the Supreme Soviet has done its job. An atmosphere—quote a calm atmosphere—which facilitates this rhythm of our work has been created. It developed gradually. So, our main response to criticism has been not talk or wordy counter-criticism. We have responded in a practical way. That was also a distinguishing feature of this Supreme Soviet. [end recording]

[Lazarevich] Immediately after this the microphone was taken by people's deputy David Nikitovich Kugultinov.

[Begin recording] [Kugultinov] I agree with everything you said in summing up the results of our work over the last two years. I regard the attitude of the autonomous entities and all the minorities as one of the positive aspects. To a certain extent, we have now begun to feel that we are equals. But discussion of the union treaty will resume at 1400 this afternoon at Novo-Ogarevo. Today I met many representatives of the autonomous entities and the Russian-speaking population who have found themselves in an unequal situation in certain republics. All of them are worried. This is because certain union republics are saying there that all the autonomous entities and all the peoples should sign the treaty as separate components. I would ask the delegates attending these talks to uphold the principles already adopted by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, and nothing else. This is already law. No "nine"s, no "seven"s have the right to even think of changing laws already adopted by the people's congress of the USSR.

[Lukyanov] I am very grateful to you, David Nikitovich, for those words. Indeed, at 1400 this afternoon, we will be participating in that debate. We have prepared very carefully for it. I want to begin my speech there by stressing the point that if we wish to be a rule of law governed state, we must firmly and clearly observe the wishes of the people, as expressed at the referendum, and the principles which were stated and enshrined in congress decisions. Otherwise, the agreement which was signed in April will not be valid either. That agreement clearly states that union norms should apply until a new constitution is adopted. The decisions taken by the people and the congress must be respected. So, we will firmly adhere to this position. [end recording]

[Lazarevich] The subject of the Novo-Ogarevo meeting was continued by Roy Aleksandrovich Medvedev.

[Begin recording] [Medvedev] This is an extremely important conference. But it must be understood that the union treaty must be signed by union republics and autonomous republics. The order must be established by the republics themselves. But this conference must stick within its competence—stick to the subject of the signing

of the union treaty, because the union republics will sign the union treaty. The discussions must be kept within these confines. It is a fact that discussions are straying outside the competence of this conference. This happened even at the last conference. It is trying to settle questions that are the prerogative of the Congress of People's Deputies or the Supreme Soviet. Take the time-table for the endorsement of the USSR constitution, for instance. Why is this conference insisting that the USSR constitution must be adopted within six months, without fail? This process—the need for a nationwide debate—may take longer. It might require further effort, including work at the constitutional commission. The endorsement must follow nationwide debate, and debate at the Supreme Soviet.

Therefore, neither the Supreme Soviet nor the Congress of People's Deputies have given this conference at Novo-Ogarevo powers to discuss matters other than the signing of the union treaty. Neither have we given them to the president or the leaders of the union republics. Therefore, I consider that the Supreme Soviet must carefully check to make sure that the demarcation of powers is observed and to insure that a parallel supreme authority does not appear in the country. Otherwise this conference will turn itself into a new supreme authority.

[Lukyanov] Roy Aleksandrovich, I wish to say that I completely agree. Late yesterday evening, I had a lengthy conversation on this question with the country's president. You have seen the things which are being published in the press at the moment. I am sure that deputies see these things. They cannot ignore them, because the fate of the country's supreme authority is at stake. I consider it my duty to carry out decisively and firmly the things that were discussed and adopted here at the Supreme Soviet and at the congress. Of course, we will report our recommendations, because this is, after all, just a conference. This is a commission which will submit its proposals for examination by the supreme organs of power. I am completely convinced—and I will uphold this conviction—that the supreme organ of power in the country definitely must take part in the solution of these questions. [end recording]

Supreme Soviet Passes Law on Deputy Recall

LD0306132791 Moscow TASS in English 1251 GMT
3 Jun 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow June 3 TASS—The Soviet parliament today passed a law on the procedure for recalling a Soviet people's deputy from parliament. According to this law, a Soviet people's deputy may be recalled by the decision of voters in his constituency or the public organisation which elected him if he has not justified the trust of his electors, i.e. failed to perform his duty as deputy or violated the constitution or federal laws.

The proposal to recall a deputy must be supported by not fewer than 10 per cent of the total number of the voters

in a given constituency before the local council of people's deputies convenes to decide if the proposal is duly argumentated. Only after the appropriate decision has been made, a vote is taken in the constituency. A Soviet people's deputy shall be considered recalled if more than 50 per cent of the voters or delegates to a congress or conference of the relevant public organisation has voted in favour of the move.

The Soviet people's deputy has the right to address voters at meetings or through mass media to explain the circumstances which prompted the proposal for his recall.

These circumstances may become the subject for consideration by the court. People guilty of supplying false information which prompted the question of recall to be raised are made responsible for the fraud.

Deputy Interviewed on Law

LD0306141991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 1130 GMT 3 Jun 91

[Report by parliamentary correspondent Vladimir Korablev from the USSR Supreme Soviet session—live or recorded]

[Text] [Korablev] First I would like to say that today the Union parliament marked the second anniversary of its activity. During this period it held some 400 sessions at which it examined major issues in the life of the country and adopted more than 100 legislative acts concerned with consolidating the legal base of the market economy, strengthening guarantees for human rights, social protection for the population in conditions of transferring to market relations, and improving the work of the Supreme Soviet itself.

Today, at a joint session of the chambers, after a debate on the second reading, the Supreme Soviet adopted a very important law on the procedure for recalling USSR people's deputies. I invited to the microphone one of the authors of the document, Nellya Pavlovna Kiriya, chairman of a subcommittee of the Committee for State Organizational Development.

Nellya Pavlovna, first and foremost this law that was adopted today, a long-awaited law, it is directed toward defending voters' rights. How are these voters' rights going to be expressed after the adoption of this law?

[Kiriya] You have rightly noted that it is a long-awaited law. I should simply and frankly say that we dragged out the adoption of this law, but that was because it is a very complex law and it concerns the interests of the entire deputies' corps and the voters' interests. It underwent four readings here, because we debated it twice at the Supreme Soviet Session and twice at people's deputies' congresses—at the Second and Fourth USSR Congress of People's deputies.

Today at the Supreme Soviet session we complied with the will of the Fourth Congress of People's Deputies and

made amendments. That is what we were instructed to do by the congress: to adopt the law, taking into consideration the observations and amendments that were submitted at the Fourth Congress of People's Deputies.

[Korablev] There were quite a few of them, about 3,000.

[Kiriya] Altogether it was the working people who submitted about 3,000. At the congress there were significantly fewer proposals. All these proposals were, as you remarked, directed precisely at expanding voters' rights. You may have even noticed that today during the debate I had to take the floor and explain to the deputies that all in all this law is a prerogative, of, [changes thought] it is a voters' law, for the voters and not for the people's deputies.

It seems to us that by adopting this law we have for the first time created a working mechanism for recall, although there will naturally be critics. This, by the way, is a democratic mechanism that we have created by adopting this law. One could probably approach this law from two sides: There will be supporters among the deputies and also those who support the view that the law provides more rights for the voters. In other words, our deputies may manifest indecision or feel uncertainty in their work regarding the application of this law. On the other hand, voters might say that the recall mechanism is made somewhat complicated, somewhat difficult. Perhaps both criticisms of this law are correct, but it has now been adopted and is going to operate. I think that it takes into consideration the interests of the People's deputies. Legal criteria are taken into consideration here. That is what we made the mainstay. The most important thing is that the law is aimed at defending voters' rights. When the voters elect their deputy, they elect him with the consideration that he can be recalled at any time.

[Korablev] If he does not meet their expectations.

[Kiriya] If he does not meet the voters' expectations. At the time of the elections, the law on the election of people's deputies already provided for the voters' right to err; that is, to elect a deputy who might not fulfill his duties.

[Korablev] Nellya Pavlovna, excuse me, but I am going to interrupt you.

[Kiriya] That is all right.

[Korablev] Under what circumstances could a people's deputy be recalled? Today, during the article by article debate on this law, it was said that if a deputy does not fulfill some mandate—for instance, to repair a road or a building—he could be recalled. All in all it seems to me that that is not a very significant reason for recalling a deputy.

[Kiriya] Your observation is very accurate. Unfortunately, in our country many voters judge a deputy and his work by whether he helped them to get an apartment, whether he helped them to repair a building, to build a

road or a nursery, and so on. All in all, that is a correct approach, but at the same time it does not completely exhaust the range of the deputies' duties. Such duties are stipulated in the appropriate USSR laws. That is why when we wrote the first article, which is The Basis for Recalling a People's Deputy, you may have noticed that the largest number of arguments in the debate on the law, and the largest number of supplements and amendments, concerned this first article, the basis for recall.

[Korablev] This is a key article.

[Kiriya] A key article, because some deputies and voters would like this to be a very extensive list of all deputies' offenses and sins. On the other hand, other deputies think that the list of these bases should be shortened. In our view, and now the session has confirmed this, we found a solution worthy of Solomon, because we have contained the whole list of bases within legal criteria, so it means recalling a deputy who does not fulfill the USSR laws, the USSR Constitution, and does not meet the voters' expectations as expressed through non-fulfillment of his deputy's duties and non-fulfillment of the USSR laws and the USSR Constitution.

[Korablev] I think that the best solution was found today. I think that this law adopted by the Supreme Soviet today is one more step toward a law-governed democratic state.

[Kiriya] Undoubtedly.

Procuracy Reports on January Vilnius Events

LD0306114691 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1020 GMT 3 Jun 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Vladimir Isachenko]

[Text] Moscow, 3 June (TASS)—The USSR procuracy did not find proof that the people who died during the January events in Vilnius during the seizure of the television center by troops were killed by soldiers.

In a note on the preliminary results of the investigation distributed today to deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet, USSR Procurator General Nikolay Trubin puts into "serious doubt" the objectiveness of the information produced by the Lithuanian procuracy on the circumstances of the deaths and injuries of the victims.

According to the report of the Lithuanian Procuracy, on the night of 12-13 January, KGB Lieutenant Viktor Shatskikh and 13 civilians died near the television center in Vilnius as a result of actions by the troops (nine of them as a result of shots aimed at them or from stray bullets, and four by being run over by tanks), while another 48 people received gunshot wounds and more than 550 had bodily injuries.

The USSR Procurator General notes that despite the obstruction of the investigation by the Lithuanian Procuracy, investigators of the Union Procuracy found

information showing that the casualties were caused not by shots from troops and by being run over by tanks, but by shots from Lithuanian fighters [boyevik] gathered around the television center, by being run over by cars, and by other causes. This is indicated by eyewitness accounts and data from the expert forensic report, according to Nikolay Trubin.

The USSR General Procurator stresses that the tragic events were provoked by "the anticonstitutional activity of the leadership of the Lithuanian Republic," as a result of which "by 13 January the danger of open confrontation and clashes between opposing groups of the population had arisen in Vilnius."

The note observes that in the conditions that had arisen, the command of the internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Vilnius Garrison fulfilled the request of the Committee of National Salvation of Lithuania to give help to the volunteer workers' detachments to establish control over the republican television center. The military subunits were permitted to use live fire only at the command of officers should there be an attack using firearms. In order to get through the obstructions around the television center, one group was given four tanks and another three tanks, equipped with blank cartridges, which were only allowed to be fired into the air. The USSR Procurator General says that during the seizure of the television center, "the militants attacked soldiers with knives, truncheons, and metal prods, ...while there was intensive automatic weapons fire from the crowd surrounding the building and from the roofs of nearby houses." In retaliation, the servicemen used the butts of their automatic rifles to defend themselves, "firing, as a warning, blanks and an odd cartridge into the air."

The note says that judging by the expert medical and forensic report, six of those who died were killed by bullets fired from above and into the back, in other words, "not by servicemen, who faced them in direct confrontation, but by the fighters who fired shots at the servicemen from the building of the television center and from the roofs of the adjacent buildings." No traces of shots have been detected in the facade of the television center. That means that those who perished could not have been killed by ricochet bullets, the document says.

Decisions Made on Judges, Interest Rates

LD0406081591 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1640 GMT 3 Jun 91

[Report by Leonid Lazarevich from the "Parliamentary Diary" program]

[Text] At the USSR Supreme Soviet's evening session the deputies amended the regulations on the classification of judges and courts of the USSR and the Union Republics. The decision on supreme qualifications used to be the job of Supreme Soviet presidiums, but parliament removed this right from them. As a result, there was nobody to make such decisions. The Supreme Soviet

has now transferred this right to the President of the USSR and the presidents of the Union republics.

The Supreme Soviet had to return to one paragraph in its recent decision on the state of affairs in agriculture. This envisaged that loans taken out before 1 November, when interest rates were sharply increased by presidential decree, would remain at the level that applied before 1990. However, this decision places the banks in a very difficult situation. The new draft decision tabled before the deputies says that the higher interest rates can be charged provided that the government compensates collective and state farms for the extra expenditure incurred. A group of agrarian deputies strongly opposed this proposal. As a result, the old decision will remain in force.

On Tuesday [4 June], the Supreme Soviet will begin discussing a crucial law on demonopolization and privatization. Work on it is expected to last at least two days.

Supreme Soviet Discussing Privatization

LD0406123991 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 0900 GMT 4 Jun 91

[Report by studio reporter Nataliya Vartanyan and parliamentary correspondent Leonid Lazarevich]

[Text] [Vartanyan] As you know, the USSR Supreme Soviet session is continuing its work. In our program now we have a link-up with our correspondent at the Kremlin. Over to Leonid Lazarevich, our parliamentary correspondent.

[Lazarevich] Hello. First of all, discussion began at the Supreme Soviet about the meeting that took place in Novo-Ogarevo. Supreme Soviet Chairman Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov was present at that meeting. He reported on it to people's deputies. He said that the meeting passed in a constructive atmosphere. The participants decided not to open discussion and embarked upon an article-by-article discussion. The overwhelming majority of articles were adopted. In particular, this concerns such important issues as territory, citizenship, ownership, and the supremacy of the laws. Accord was also reached on very important articles on the delimitation of powers between the Union and the republics. Some of the issues have not yet been agreed. Work will be finished on these issues and they will then be presented to the supreme soviets.

What will the Union be called? First, the treaty itself will be called the Treaty on the Union of Sovereign Republics, although the delegation from the Supreme Soviet proposed that it be called the Union Treaty. It is proposed to call our country the Union of Soviet Sovereign Republics.

At the moment, deputies are discussing a very important draft law on the destatification and privatization of enterprise. They are discussing the general principles; that is what the law is called. What is meant is that in

principle this law will apply directly only to union property. Only the general principles will apply in the republics. The republics themselves will decide how privatization and destatification are to progress. Well, this discussion....

[Vartanyan, interrupting] So, it can be said that economic independence will be granted to the republics in the full sense.

[Lazarevich] Yes, of course. In some sense it will be granted, although the Union republics will be tied by the closest of links. But they will decide themselves how to divide their own property among their citizens. This discussion of this very important law, which is perhaps cornerstone of the whole of our transition to the market, will continue for two days. We will talk a lot more about it. Here I close my report from the Kremlin.

Akhromeyev Relays Lithuanian Protests at Session

LD0306203891 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1640 GMT 3 Jun 91

[From the "Parliamentary Diary" program, presented by Leonid Lazarevich]

[Text] [Lazarevich] At the end of the afternoon session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Marshal Akhromeyev was given the floor for a deputy's interpellation. He urged all the mass media to acquaint the public with his statement, and this is what we now intend to do:

[Begin Akhromeyev recording] Esteemed comrade chairman, esteemed comrade deputies. Comrade Kalmykov, Yuriy Khamzatovich, the chairman of the committee on legislation, and I have received a telegram from the town of Panevezys in the Lithuanian soviet socialist republic. I shall now read it out:

A campaign for the adoption of republican citizenship has been underway in Lithuania of late. Economic coercion is being used to implement what is, basically, a political act. For people who wish to be citizens of the USSR, the satisfaction of very important personal matters is being linked exclusively to the concept of Lithuanian citizenship. The issue of checks for privatized state property, the opportunity to purchase privatized housing, and the right to open special compensatory accounts at savings banks to make up for the impact of price rises on deposits are being reserved for Lithuanian citizens. In Panevezys all employees have been asked to hand in their passports by 1 July, so that a certificate of intention to take up Lithuanian citizenship can be stuck in. Pensioners are being threatened that payment of their pensions will stop. Pensioners of the armed forces who refuse to take up Lithuanian citizenship are being deprived of their army pensions. We ask you to react urgently to this. If you were to read out this telegram at the USSR Supreme Soviet, this would be regarded as evidence of attention and concern for USSR citizens in Lithuania.

In this connection, I would ask the USSR procurator general to verify the accuracy of the facts set out in the telegram and to report his conclusions to the USSR Supreme Soviet. [end recording]

Investment Law, Press, OMON Actions Debated

PM0306130591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 May 91 Union Edition pp 1,2

[Report by parliamentary correspondents A. Stepovoy and S. Chugayev: "Investments, Concessions, and Free Economic Zones"]

[Text] The success of the reforms aimed at strengthening the Soviet economy is directly connected with its openness and the need for its speediest integration in the international economic community. It was with these words that V. Pavlov, the country's prime minister, started his presentation of the Fundamentals of USSR Legislation on Foreign Investments at the morning joint sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet session 29 May.

Equipment is 42 percent worn out in Soviet industry today. The value of the necessary growth in fixed capital is 500 billion rubles. Will the country be able to cope independently, on its own, with such a volume of modernization of industry? The prime minister believes it will. But the question is the price that will have to be paid for this. If, as before, we tackle matters ourselves, then we will have to continue to pay with our living standard, people's health, and the state of the environment. Another way out of the crisis is with the assistance of state and private foreign investments. After all, foreign capital means not only money, but also new equipment, technology, and management skills in market economy conditions.

V. Pavlov gave quite a high assessment of the activity of the joint ventures formed in recent years in the USSR. Primarily from the viewpoint of the dynamics of their development. At the same time, he noted, the imperfect nature of the legal and economic base has still not made the Soviet economy attractive to foreign investors. The aim of the proposed draft law is to eliminate contradictions and create legal guarantees for foreign investors, and at the same time defend the position of the Soviet economy.

The main distinctive feature of the draft law is that the national regime for regulating investment activity is extended to foreign investors. The second main question is the protection of foreign investments and guarantees. According to the USSR prime minister, compensation to the foreign investor in the event of nationalization or confiscation should be paid at the market value of the property in the currency in which the investments were made.

The draft law also stipulates conditions for the extraction of our natural resources, and the procedure for establishing free economic zones is defined in the form of concessions.

Answering deputies' questions, V. Pavlov stressed in particular that no republic has any objections to the draft law.

On behalf of the parliamentary International Affairs Committee, Deputy F. Tabeyev supported the draft law on foreign investments in the USSR, and he called on his colleagues to approve it at the first reading.

The more complex and unpredictable the sociopolitical situation in the country becomes and the more the press expresses various opinions and views, the more sensitively a certain section of the union parliamentarians reacts to criticism of themselves.

Probably not a week goes by without some deputy or other getting offended at one of the newspapers. There is probably not a single central publication left that has not been subjected to harsh criticism for its articles. Newspapers should not get offended about this. After all, the rule that anyone who criticizes will be criticized extends to everyone without exception. Here too there is just a small point: Everyone has to strictly observe the spirit and letter of the Law on the Press.

And now certain union legislators seem to have started forgetting about the legal acts that they themselves adopted. At least this parliamentary week has provided many reasons to recall this.

On Monday, for example, uncomplimentary assessments were made within the walls of the USSR Supreme Soviet regarding IZVESTIYA and PRAVDA, and on Tuesday it was the turn of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA. If it had been a question of individual rejoinders and observations, then we could probably not have devoted so much space to these events in the newspaper. But the point is that a full and quite lengthy debate on this subject started at the 28 May morning sitting of the session. It was initiated by T. Pupkevich, a deputy from Estonia.

The cause of this impromptu debate was an article by L. Nikitinskiy in a recent issue of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA entitled "Whose Capital is Novo-Ogarevo?" But Deputy T. Pupkevich was indignant not so much about the actual article and the ideas expressed in it, as about the fact that "many people's deputies, our comrades, have repeatedly been subjected to pressure from this newspaper—not just reasonable criticism, but real insults." I think, the deputy said, that there are elementary rules of conduct, let alone the laws dealing with people who display disrespect and are offensive.

What was it that offended Tadeush Karlovich so much? A simile likening the USSR Supreme Soviet to the tsar cannon that does not fire or the tsar bell that does not ring. It is good that Deputy T. Pupkevich made a mention here of the existing Law on the Press. It is bad that instead of using its articles, which envisage recourse

to the courts in such situations, he called on his colleagues on his own authority to deprive KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA of accreditation in the union parliament for a while for its disrespectful behavior towards its hosts.

Of the ordinary legislators, only Deputy V. Kozlov supported this appeal. Other participants in the debate had a different opinion of this matter. Thus Deputy Yu. Voronezhnev said that at meetings with voters you have to listen to even sharper condemnations than in the press. And he noted somewhat ironically that maybe we should consider depriving all our voters of accreditation too. The observation made by Deputy S. Tsypliyayev was quite appropriate: There is a law that enables you to lodge complaints about articles through the courts.

After this, the debate on the press rose to a qualitatively new level. In fact, they were a continuation of the idea expressed the day before by Deputy G. Tikhonov about the need to create a USSR Supreme Soviet press organ. This idea was now supported by Deputy Yu. Koltsov. But at the same time he warned his colleagues about the harmfulness of prohibitions. Thus, in depriving KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA subscribers of information on the work of the Supreme Soviet, the following attitude may prevail, he said: "In order to put an end to the evil, let us gather up the press and burn it."

A. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, summed up the impromptu debate. I can see that the democrats are trying to free the press from all fetters as usual, Anatoliy Ivanovich said. First of all, the law provides for depriving papers of accreditation. Second, what I think should be done is this. The Supreme Soviet has a press center. Let us really refer this question to it... Allow us and the chairmen of the chambers to look at this question—examine it and make proposals. Obviously, A. Lukyanov stressed, we cannot ignore this. Yesterday it was NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, today it is KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. After today's discussion there will be an attack on the Supreme Soviet, you are well aware of this. We have to think about this and respond in a dignified way.

After this rather emotional conversation, the discussion of the draft Fundamentals of Legislation on the Indexation of the Population's Income was resumed at the session. The discussion was quite calm and peaceful. Amendments were made to several fundamental provisions of the document and the draft law was adopted at first reading. Work on it will be continued. It was decided to submit this legal act for a second reading before 15 June.

The deputies devoted the entire evening sitting 28 May to the discussion and adoption of two USSR Supreme Soviet resolutions—"On Types of Output (Work, Services) and Production Waste Whose Free Sale is Prohibited or Restricted" and "On Types of Activity in Which Enterprises Can Engage Only on the Basis of Special Authorization (Licenses)." Strictly speaking, much of the

time was spent on clarifying the lists of output and types of activity subject to restriction and licensing.

At the end of the sitting both resolutions were adopted with minor amendments.

Before the sitting began the response by B. Pugo, USSR minister of internal affairs, to the deputies' question on the recent events in Lithuania and Latvia was circulated in the Supreme Soviet. The response described as timely the measures taken by the Riga and Vilnius special purpose militia detachments [OMON] to unblock the customs posts on the Latvian and Lithuanian borders.

Assessing these actions from a legal viewpoint, the minister considered that on the whole they correspond to the tasks facing law enforcement organs in protecting the interests of citizens and state. The decisions of the Baltic republic Supreme Soviets proclaiming them independent states, the response says, were not drawn up at union and international level. Therefore USSR legislation is binding on these republics at the present time. Under this legislation the direct implementation of customs work is the responsibility of USSR organs, which constitute a single system.

In this connection, the response says, the decisions of the Baltic republics' organs of power concerning questions of the organization of customs work, the setting up of customs borders, and the creation of customs points, first, exceeds their powers and, second, contravenes union legislation.

The document refers to numerous testimonies to violations of the rights of citizens, enterprises, and organizations at these customs points and posts. It also mentions the USSR presidential decree "On Emergency Measures To Provide Material Resources for Enterprises, Associations, and Organizations," which contains the instruction to repeal within a week all restrictions on exporting output outside republics, krais, and oblasts, and reports from the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Prosecutor's Office and the Latvian SSR Transport Prosecutor's Office to the republic parliament and government on the illegal nature of the activity of the customs points and posts.

In these conditions, the response says, with the aim of restoring legality, the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Riga and Vilnius OMON carried out "actions to unblock a number of customs points on the borders of Latvia and Lithuania (16 of 78 points)."

However, the minister goes on, on the other hand it has to be noted that these measures were carried out without the knowledge or instructions of the USSR MVD and were accompanied by violations such as insults to staffers of republic services and the destruction of property. In this connection groups of USSR MVD staffers were sent into Latvia and Lithuania with instructions to carry out an official investigation. The Latvian SSR Prosecutor's Office has instituted proceedings in these cases on the basis that authority was exceeded.

It was also said in response that the USSR MVD is adopting measures to regulate the organization of work in the republic OMON subunits.

Political & Social

Politburo Assails 'De-Sovietization' Moves

LD0406191291 Moscow TASS in English 1858 GMT
4 Jun 91

[Text] Moscow June 4 TASS—"Soviets have become an arena of an intense political struggle. A direct threat to dismantle them has emerged in several parts of the country," says a resolution issued by the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

The resolution points out that the central organs of the party, many party committees and organisations proved to be unprepared for a vigorous political struggle and are late with actions to settle arising problems.

The Politburo called the attention of the central committees of the communist parties of union republics, territorial, regional and district party committees to the need to continue to pursue the principled course of the CPSU's 28th Congress, which called for renewing the political system and strengthening the soviets as bodies of people's power.

The Soviets of people's deputies justified themselves historically and have not exhausted their potential. The idea of "de-sovietisation," which is being imposed on public opinion, in actual fact means alienating broad sections of the working people—workers, farmers and intellectuals—from power.

The resolution expresses support for the course of creating an integral system of state power in the country to combine the formed structures of Soviet representative democracy with an executive presidency, which is being enacted in the country. Simultaneously, it is emphasised that top representative bodies should retain enough powers to exercise control over the activity of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the president.

The Politburo thinks that the CPSU should participate more vigorously in forming state government and management bodies within the framework of the USSR Constitution and laws and exert an effective influence on the state's internal and foreign policies.

Party committees, organisations and communists are recommended persistently mastering methods of the parliamentary activity regarding it as one of the all-important forms of exercising the CPSU's political function.

The resolution notes that a particular role in rallying communist deputies and in their cooperation with other groups of deputies represented in the Soviets belongs to party groups. In this regard, the Politburo proposes enhancing organisation, discipline and responsibility.

without which party groups are amorphous and are incapable of utilizing their potential.

Thirteen Republics Support Anticrisis Program

OW0506043391 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1500 GMT 4 Jun 91

[Text] First Deputy Prime Minister of the USSR Vladimir Shcherbakov said that 13 republics support the anticrisis program in principle. However, not all of them have signed it.

Russia refused to sign until the results of the presidential election are known. The Ukraine insists first on the introduction of customs barriers. Its parliament proposes duty free transportation only of state-ordered goods between republics. Moldova refers to its internal political crisis. Latvia and Lithuania, though agreeing with the joint efforts program, would like to sign it separately. Georgia has not agreed yet.

Italian Daily Interviews Boris Pugo

PM0306151091 Milan L'UNITA in Italian
31 May 91 p 2

[Interview with Interior Minister Boris Pugo by Sergio Sergi in Moscow; date not given]

[Excerpt] Moscow—[passage omitted] [Sergi] Minister, by virtue of your position, you certainly have your finger on the country's pulse. After months of violent clashes an agreement was reached among nine republics on 23 April. Tell me: What does the USSR look like now?

[Pugo] This is not a simple situation. There are complications with regard to supplying the population; we are suffering shortages of many kinds of foodstuffs and everyday consumer goods. This is one of the main things that complicate the situation, and people's mood is not improving. To some extent, since the start of the monetary reform some degree of economic stabilization has taken shape and rather more goods have appeared. But I agree with what our prime minister says: A substantial normalization of the economy will take place next October-November. This will depend on many factors—on what the harvest is like, but also on how the political processes develop.

[Sergi] Are you referring to the accord among the nine republics?

[Pugo] Precisely. It seems to me that there is now some degree of stabilization in political life since the signing of the "nine-plus-one" agreement, as it is called. A hope has emerged among the people: Agreement can be reached. The accord is very important because there has emerged a new clarity with regard to the "new union."

[Sergi] Do you believe that the republics reluctant to remain in the Union will change their minds?

[Pugo] I believe that people will come to understand what Gorbachev has been saying for some time: The old union no longer exists and the new one has yet to be born, and relations between the republics and between the republics and the "center" will not be as they were before.

[Sergi] Very well. These are the new factors. But did you know that the West is currently grappling with the question, whether or not to help the USSR? Can you, from your key position, give assurances of the solidity of the accord? Can you guarantee that the USSR will not fall apart?

[Pugo] It is difficult for me to give a guarantee. But I am sure that this is the logical development: Backward movement is toward nothingness. We will create a new union, and this will also be advantageous for the republics that want to leave now.

[Sergi] May I press you on this point? What can you, as the USSR's interior minister, say to allay the fears and, if you like, even certain political calculations that are nurtured in the West?

[Pugo] One of the best guarantees is the resolute determination to move toward a market economy, to open up the national economy. In theory, you could admit the possibility of a return to a closed society: The USSR is a huge country, has vast resources and a powerful engineering industry, so in theory, we could have... But it would have been an illogical option. Furthermore, you can reach a certain level only in some sectors; you cannot excel in every field. We can only have a future as an integrated part of mankind, starting with Europe. The legislation currently being examined by parliament is designed to grant entrepreneurs real freedom, to guarantee their future. We very much want to involve foreign capital and, personally, I believe that it would be advisable for us to join the Monetary Fund and to become members of the Development Bank.

[Sergi] Will the republics that refuse to sign the accord continue to receive an unyielding response from the "center"?

[Pugo] Definitely. Many people—and not only in the West—cannot imagine what the situation is like in those republics.

[Sergi] You are a Latvian; please explain.

[Pugo] Like it or not, people must come to terms with the real situation. In Latvia 51 percent are Latvian, but 49 percent are Russians and other nationalities. These latter came to the republic because they were asked, not as conquerors. The republic's leadership needed to develop its industry, so it facilitated the influx of workers from other regions. These people now fear for their future, and are not to be blame for not having learned the language of the country in which they live. Many of them will not want to leave, but they do want a guarantee that they will not be second-class citizens. However, a number of laws

passed in Latvia have in fact given rise to a discriminatory process. Nevertheless, if the republic wants to secede from the USSR, then it will be necessary to observe a transition period, and the people who do not intend to stay will have the opportunity to move to other areas and to find new homes and jobs.

[Sergi] Tension in the Baltics is high again at the moment because of certain actions by your ministry's special troops, the so-called OMON's, who dismantled the customs posts created by Lithuania and Latvia. Some people fear tragic consequences, as happened in January. What is the situation?

[Pugo] It is a very complex problem. The three republics are still an integral part of the USSR, and Soviet laws apply on their territories. The republics established customs posts internally, but by law, they can only be established on external borders. There was a decree from President Gorbachev, who ordered the dismantling of the posts, which in any case impede the development of the market relations for which the Balts themselves are calling so keenly.

[Sergi] But who insisted on that violent action, and who issued the order?

[Pugo] Requests came from the inhabitants; the general prosecutor's office urged the republican parliaments to close the customs posts, but there was no response. So many people turned to the OMON detachments, which are answerable to a department at my ministry and which have the task of defending national property. The special troops should have forwarded these requests to us, but they did not do so. We say that they dismantled the customs posts only in obedience to the presidential decree; but as a minister, I believe that they also abused their powers. I have therefore asked the USSR prosecutor's office to carry out an inquiry and have sent a group of my colleagues to examine the situation.

[Sergi] But what do you think of these special troops?

[Pugo] I say this as a minister: The form of action taken by the OMON does not please me, I do not approve of interventions by forces without any warning. It is unethical. They should first have given a warning, asked the ministry for the go-ahead, and only then taken action.

[Sergi] Is it true that even the USSR is beginning to suffer the consequences of the spread of drugs and that some of the international traffic is coming here?

[Pugo] The phenomenon is widespread particularly in some regions of the country where cannabis and other drugs are grown but we have discovered clandestine laboratories in Moscow and Leningrad. The problems which have affected many other countries are beginning to enter our country too: Borders are being opened and inevitably many crimes which we did not have are coming to the fore. At present there are officially 110,000 drug addicts but drug addiction is becoming

dangerously firmly rooted among young people. In addition, we have evidence that drugs from Pakistan are being transported across the USSR to the Balkan region and southern Europe.

[Sergi] Minister, what do you think is the main threat to perestroika?

[Pugo] That national unity has not yet been achieved. We have abandoned the administrative edict system. We conservatives, democrats, and centrists come from that system and a great deal will depend on how the democratic bases of society are strengthened. Great steps forward have been made but there is some danger: one section of people are leaning toward very rapid radical changes and another large section, dissatisfied with their own economic conditions are thinking of a return to the past. Perestroika's real success will depend on how strong the "center" is, and on the extent to which we succeed in avoiding division. And it will depend on whether each of us is capable of playing according to the new rules without having the presumption to think that we have changed from conservatives to democrats overnight.

CPSU Marxist Platform Supporters Meet in Kiev

*PM0406103391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 29 May 91 First Edition p 1*

[Report by Colonel A. Polyakov under the "Direct Line" rubric: "'Marxist Platform' Defines Program"]

[Text] Kiev, 28 May—The first stage of the fourth conference of supporters of the Marxist Platform in the CPSU was held in Kiev over two days. Taking part in its proceedings were 243 delegates and 200 guests from various regions of the country.

Around 20 servicemen attended the conference, and several officers are on the coordinating council. Council member Lieutenant Colonel S. Terekhov, and a guest—Colonel V. Goncharov, secretary of the party committee at the Ground Forces' Kiev Air Defense Military Academy—expressed alarm over a certain slackening of party work among the troops in connection with the separation of party committees from political organs. They stressed that a distinctive discrepancy is arising: Grass-roots organizations are demanding that aggressive and energetic work be conducted with the masses, while party functionaries of the very highest rank are displaying sluggishness and are not defining their position.

The Marxist Platform supporters stated that they stand for the preservation and strengthening of the Union, real power for labor collectives, and a unified army, and against national separatism. They attach special importance to the development of local self-government, advocate the transfer of enterprises to them [as published], and oppose rash privatization.

A resolution on the draft program stresses that Marxist Platform supporters consider the CPSU's continued lack

of a program intolerable and are demanding the holding of an extraordinary CPSU congress in 1991. The Marxist Platform exhorts its supporters to come out in defense of both the Communist Party and socialist ideals.

Border Guard Chief of Staff Interviewed

91UF0802A Moscow TRUD in Russian
28 May 91 p 4

[Interview with Lieutenant General V.I. Shlyakhtin, chief of staff of the USSR KGB Border Troops, on the occasion of Border Troops Day, by Yu. Dmitriyev; place and date not given: "A Conversation on Non-Festive Topics": "The Border"]

[Text]It has always brought out a mixed sentiment of respect and trepidation—this invisible threshold that separates our state from other countries that are called contiguous. Raised from boyhood on the heroic deeds of Nikolay Karatsupa and his comrades in arms, we came to believe in the solidity of the barriers and barbed wire that stretched from border post to border post, in the need for passes and stamps in passports, and in travel authorization papers when entering a near-border zone, which sometimes stretched many dozens of kilometers inside the country. We looked respectfully at frisky well-fed German shepherds frenetically straining their leashes and suspiciously sniffing not only us but also railroad cars going abroad. This was necessary, we believed. Because the enemy was near and he was not asleep—he is sneaking his way through the bushes and marches in the deep of the night. Because clouds are floating darkly... [line from popular song about border guards]

"They are still floating darkly here and there, these border clouds," says Vladimir Ivanovich. "Of course, the world situation has considerably warmed up. The peoples and states are engaged in new thinking. The border, being the most sensitive barometer of international relations, clearly registers this. In my view, the most important positive factor is the establishment of good-neighborliness and benevolence at the immense Sino-Soviet border, which stretches 7,500 kilometers. As you know, it goes through harsh Far Eastern taiga and powerful rapids-studded rivers, as well as Tian Shan and Pamirs. Remember the reverberations of anxiety and pain coming from those remote parts at the time? Now, as a result of negotiations, heads of government delegations have already initialed an agreement in regard to the Sino-Soviet border in its eastern part and will start joint demarcation works soon. This is happening for the first time in the history of our international relations.

"As is known, the border stretches over 62,000 kilometers; of that, 22,000 comprise the land border, and the remaining 40,000 are the sea border. Each meter of this border must be watched over. Every self-respecting state does it this way. Have you ever seen an apartment or a house without a lock? Of course not. This lock, however, should not be an expression of isolation and alienation.

The door should always be open to friends and people coming to us with good intentions."

[Dmitriyev] I often happen to pass international airports—Sheremetyevo, Leningrad's Pulkovo, and Kiev's Borispol—let alone railroad border crossing checkpoints. The flow of people, cargo, and autos has increased dramatically. The military in green service caps work here side by side with customs personnel. The feeling is quite depressing—facilities are crowded; there is a lot of pushing and shoving, chaos. I personally saw, for instance, an incredibly long line of automobiles in Brest that stretched 1.5 to two kilometers—the people were waiting anxiously to cross the Warsaw Bridge. There are shouts and threats directed at young servicemen who continuously come across forged passports, substituted photos, and "retouched" OVIR stamps.

Colonel Petr Ipatov, chief of the border control checkpoint, his face grown dark with tiredness, tells with hurt in his voice of a recent incident: One infuriated Pole, who was attempting to get the almost complete assortment of a hardware store across the border in his car, swung his fist at the controller, a young sergeant. Another, caught in an attempt to secretly smuggle out more than three kilograms of gold items, poured vulgar cursing on the young serviceman. All of this was happening right next to the heroic fortress and the border post named after Hero of the Soviet Union A. Kizhevatov, who, together with a handful of soldiers, chose to perish under the ruins of the border post in June 1941 rather than surrender to the fascists...

[Shlyakhtin] You mentioned yourself an immense number of people flooding the borders. I will substantiate it with figures. In comparison with 1986 the number of people crossing the border has doubled, and by last year reached 35.6 million people. Add to this up to 2 million people crossing the border at points of simplified control—relatives, close relations, people traveling for family reasons, for reason of illness, etc. Why should these people, who live far from the center and government organizations, have to apply to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or consulates. Look at automobile transport—we have let three times more of it through our checkpoints than, let us say, five years ago. This number stands at 3.5 million units now.

Keep in mind that at the same time we have received very few new facilities. Inspection equipment arrives in minute quantities. The pressures on the personnel are immense. We are waiting for help on the part of local authorities, at least when it comes to construction. During the last two and a half years we have opened more than 50 additional border checkpoints for transit by people and transportation, but they are rather sparsely equipped.

Nevertheless, even under such conditions the border guards are always on the alert. They combat spies, contraband, and other tricks. I want to tell TRUD readers: Each year we detain 2,000 to 2,500 violators

whom we hand over, if needed, to investigative organs. During the past year we have intercepted attempts to transport more than 1,500 units of arms—including 948 units of firearms—through our checkpoints. We have confiscated more than 120 kilograms of narcotics. If all of this is translated into money, the amount will be more than 100 million.

All of this shows that our work still keeps us busy, and that it is too early to lay down our arms. We are being shot at from a contiguous side (more than 100 incidents during the last four years). Land mines are being set up on our territory, where our military squads carry on their watch and which they patrol. This is happening, for instance, on the Soviet-Afghan border—150 instances.

[Dmitriyev] Once I had an opportunity to go to the Barents Sea on board a large border guard ship "Imeni 25 Syezda KPSS" on a patrol to protect the USSR economic border. Before that I visited more than once the South Kuril islands, where naval border guard ships also intercept poachers and others intent on profiting from our sea reaches...

[Shlyakhtin] Yes, this is also one of the worries for the border guards. And not an insignificant one. The zone itself (just think about it) covers 8.5 million square miles. It extends 200 nautical miles from our coast. There are valuable fish and sea animals in these waters; the shelf is rich with mineral resources and oil. Last year we detained 43 foreign ships in violation; the total amount of fines was about 5 million hard currency rubles. We are trying our best to preserve the national riches for our people.

But here is a problem!.. You should see some of our patrol ships and speedboats. Time and again you will see underpowered, obsolete, slow ships. They belong to yesterday. For instance, a Japanese fishing schooner with powerful modern outboard motor and state-of-the-art computer equipment can instantly give our sea patrol the slip. Ships of other countries as well, which are doing their hunting in Soviet waters, also are often far above ours in their nautical qualities. It is a shame...

[Dmitriyev] Right after the events of regrettable fame in the south of Azerbaijan, where in the beginning of last year extremists organized the demolition of the Soviet border, I happened to visit Nakhichevan, in the local Red Banner border unit zone. I saw a savage picture—overturned border poles, downed watch towers, and the cordon system torn into pieces. What is it—a barometer of relations, but this time of intra-Union ones..

[Shlyakhtin] Of course. Interethnic conflicts, of which border troop units found themselves in the epicenter, have seriously affected their service. Talking about Nakhichevan and other neighboring areas—here the extremist wing of the Azerbaijan National Front organized antistate action aimed at the destruction of engineering cordons. Under the threat of violence, women, children, and old people were brought into the raging crowds. Threats to drown border troops in blood were

shouted aloud. Fortunately, the servicemen showed restraint. This time they were able to avoid bloodshed. In another area, however—in Armenia—two of our servicemen died in the clashes.

What can I say in this respect in general? The conflicts have sharply increased the moral and physical pressure on our servicemen. Now they have to protect not only the border but their own facilities, border posts, armaments and munitions depots, plus their own lives and the lives of their families. Problems have arisen with manning border troops units. Not everybody is willing to be assigned to the Transcaucasus. The supply of our posts and units is disrupted. There is less help from the local population and even from law enforcement organs.

Unfortunately, the unstable situation in the Transcaucasus is not improving. The government directed us—together with the Soviet Army and Internal Troops—not to allow bloodshed and internecine massacre, and to put border posts and checkpoints in some sectors. This is also an additional pressure. Because of this the USSR Cabinet of Ministers is introducing certain material preferences for our servicemen in all categories.

[Dmitriyev] A few days ago, at the invitation of the Border Troops Military-Political Administration, a group of Moscow journalists visited the Soviet-Norwegian border in the polar regions, in the area of the city of Nikel. We stepped onto the very edge of the Soviet land at the edge of the ocean, where the granite border pole "Kopets" had been standing since the beginning of previous century. This is a well-groomed, quiet area, no conflicts or mishaps. Soviet Border Troops Commissar Vyacheclav Dorokhin, who, on behalf of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, maintains official contacts with the Norwegian side, told us about the spirit of cooperation and harmony. People go visiting each other, border teams of both countries meet on the soccer field, and this August our guards will pay a friendship visit to Norwegian Kirkenes. So much for the border with a capitalist country...

[Shlyakhtin] You have seen, if I may use this expression, one of the "intelligent" parts of our border. We are striving to make all of it look this way. The development of a new concept of protection of the state border and the USSR economic zone is now nearing completion; it will put priority on increasing the effectiveness of our troops at international routes, ensuring border regulations and order in the USSR economic zone, and intercepting, together with the customs service, attempts to illegally bring in or out of the country contraband, weapons, narcotics, and explosive and poisonous substances.

Speaking about strictly internal aspects of the new concept, the near-border zone will be considerably reduced—at our initiative. The land and usable ground is being given to economic entities, to be used for crops, cattle grazing, and construction. Entry into and exit from these zones is considerably simplified. This zone is

entirely eliminated at the border with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, China, the DPRK, and Mongolia. It is being sharply reduced again on the sea coasts patrolled by border guards, and at the borders with many capitalist countries. All in all, the territory that used to be forbidden to enter without special passes has by now been reduced by a factor of 10.

Moreover, areas now excluded from the border zone regime are free economic zones, places of mass recreation, sanitariums, tourist and sports bases, memorials, and places where religious rites are conducted. Of course, this has made our work more difficult, but we are looking for new opportunities to improve our service; one of the ways of doing so is by bringing in more technology and scientific knowledge.

[Dmitriyev] Lastly. What is the size of the border troops and how much does the treasury spend on their maintenance?

[Shlyakhtin] There are slightly more than 200,000 in the districts, including central organizations. Money is tight, though. Our annual budget is 2.2 billion rubles. This is not enough. In the second part of the year our deficit will be approximately 80 million rubles. This is because in order to comply with the law on exit and entry, passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet, we will need to equip about 100 border control checkpoints in addition to 235 existing ones. This will add about 13,000 to border control checkpoint personnel. They need to be paid, too. So we will have to find some way to deal with this situation.

Association for Jewish Nazi Victims Set Up

LD0306201191 Moscow TASS in English 1945 GMT
3 Jun 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Yefim Shvartsman]

[Text] Odessa June 3—A special association will now represent, in the USSR and abroad, the interests of Soviet Jews, former inmates of Nazi concentration camps and ghettos. This all-union institution was set up by a founding congress of this group of Soviet citizens, which opened in Odessa (the Ukraine) today.

The congress began with a commemorative prayer in memory of six million Jews, who fell at the hands of the Nazis during the Second World War.

The congress is being held under the auspices of the Confederation of Jewish Communities and Organizations and will last until June 7. The forum is being attended by foreign guests, including those from Israel.

Chairman of the congress sponsoring committee David Taubkin of Moscow noted in his report that the association's founders intend to raise a question before the Soviet government to determine the legal status of a ghetto inmate.

They will also request the German government to settle the question of moral and material compensation to Soviet Jews. They are the only living inmates of ghettos and Nazi concentration camps in the world, who do not receive any compensation.

The association will coordinate work to immortalise the memory of fallen Jews. At the same time the organisation will be engaged in finding out the names of people of other nationalities, who saved Jews from annihilation at the risk of their own lives and the lives of their kith and kin.

Their names will be sent to the Yad Vashem Memorial Institute in Israel.

Youth Daily Non-Subscription Print Run Reduced

PM0406155191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jun 91 p 3

[Ye. Arakelyan report: "No Option But To Run to the Post Office. It Seems That in the Foreseeable Future KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's Readers Will Be Able to Obtain the Newspaper Only on Subscription"]

[Text] In June it will evidently be simply impossible to buy KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA from a kiosk: Its print run being put on retail sale is continuing to be reduced. Whereas at the beginning of the year it totaled 600,000 copies, it is now just 200,000.

"There is no paper," M.M. Troshin, deputy director of the PRAVDA Publishing House, responded to a request to comment on the situation. At the same time, it is true, he gave an assurance: It is possible that KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's retail print run will be increased as of July.

Let the reader himself decide whether the promises of the publishing house's leadership can be believed. But he will clearly avoid unnecessary anxiety by taking out a subscription to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

TASS Reviews Soviet Central Press

4 Jun

LD0406072891 Moscow TASS in English 0706 GMT
4 Jun 91

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow June 4 TASS—Republican leaders from Russia, Belorussia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenia, Azerbaijan and autonomous republics met in the Moscow suburb of Novo-Ogarevo on Monday to finalise the draft Union treaty, PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA report.

The leaders discussed draft article by article. The meeting was chaired by President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Discussions were goodspirited and open, presidential spokesman Georgiy Shakhnazarov told reporters.

Participants agreed on the name of the future federation—the Union of Soviet Sovereign Republics. Several leaders wanted to preserve the word socialist in the country's name. They were told that there were practically no more countries in the world whose names included ideological symbols, he said.

The change of the name by no means signifies denouncement of socialist ideals, Shakhnazarov said.

Participants finished the document's preamble and began discussing the first section, dealing with the basic principles the union would be based on—human rights, people's power, free development of all forms of ownership, market relations, etc.

The new version does not differ much from the draft that was published in the press, according to Shakhnazarov. The document is being enriched, clarified and improved, he said.

The Soviet parliament passed a bill on rules to recall a Soviet people's deputy. Under the bill, a deputy can be recalled by a decision of voters of a public organisation that elected him.

PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA publish an address and a statement by the Russian Communist Party to Leningrad residents, denouncing "the mean action to rename Leningrad into St. Petersburg."

The documents call on all Leningraders to "raise their voice in defence of the city's current name" during the June 12 referendum.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries a TASS interview with Deputy Soviet Prime Minister Vladimir Shcherbayev, who speaks about a government anti-crisis programme to pull the Soviet Union out of its economic crisis.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA publishes a report by Soviet Prosecutor General Nikolay Trubin to the Soviet parliament on events in the Lithuanian capital Vilnius on January 12 and 13.

The Soviet prosecutor's office did not find evidence that people who died during the January events in Vilnius when troops seized the TV centre had been killed by servicemen.

In a newsletter on preliminary results of the investigation circulated in the parliament, Trubin doubted the objectivity of reports by the Lithuanian prosecutor's office on the circumstances of "deaths and injuries" in Vilnius.

Despite Lithuanian resistance, Soviet investigators received data showing that victims were injured and killed not by servicemen but by Lithuanian militants

gathered around the centre, run over by cars or due to other reasons, Trubin said. He cited eyewitness reports and forensic data.

The tragic events were provoked by "the unconstitutional actions by the Lithuanian leadership that resulted in the emergence by January 13 of a threat of an open confrontation and clashes between rival groups of people," Trubin stressed.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA publishes a transcript of writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's 1976 interview with Spanish television in which he spoke about developments in the Soviet Union.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries an article by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy, who writes about Soviet foreign policy in new international conditions.

5 Jun

LD0506093591 Moscow TASS in English 0637 GMT
5 Jun 91

[Text] [dateline and passage indistinct] SELSKAYA ZHIZN carries an interview with Turkmenistan president Saparmurat Niyazov.

"The people of Turkmenia, who were granted a statehood thanks to the Soviet power, do not conceive their future without the union. Any other approach is absurd," Niyazov said.

Several stories mark world environment day. PRAVDA publishes an article by Academician Ivan Frolov, laureate of UNEP's Global 500 Prize, who comments on a wide range of ecological-humanitarian problems.

PRAVDA carries an interview with Mikhail Timoshishin, chairman of the Soviet Committee on Food Procurement.

Unless urgent measures are taken to create state resources, the food situation will become threatening, Timoshishin said.

PRAVDA comments on the work of the Leningrad city council. Having plunged into "big politics" deputies are neglecting burning problems facing the city, it says.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA publishes readers' letters demanding that the Leningrad city council cancel a referendum on whether to rename the city.

First Deputy Commander of Soviet Strategic Missile Forces Colonel General Alexander Volkov comments in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA on the conversion of the military industry.

TRUD carries an article by A. Nazeikin, chairman of the Federation of Communications Trade Unions. New subscription terms will further worsen working conditions for postal workers, he believes.

Acting commander of the Soviet Southern group of forces Lieutenant General Viktor Shilov comments in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA about the Soviet withdrawal from Hungary.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA writes about a winged amphibious plane, built by the Taganrog aviation scientific-technical centre. The plane, known as "Albatros", will be the centerpiece of the Soviet exhibition at the Paris Air Show.

Newspapers publish stories in the run up to poet Alexander Pushkin's birthday anniversary on Thursday.

In their international sections newspapers comment on the signing of a peace agreement in Angola, the 9th congress of the Brazilian Communist Party and other world developments.

Economics

Bank Endorses Provisions on Currency Transactions

LD0406194891 Moscow TASS in English 1845 GMT
4 Jun 91

[Text] Moscow June 4 TASS—In accordance with the USSR law on currency regulation, the USSR State Bank has endorsed "The main provisions on regulating currency transactions on the USSR's territory", says an official report by the USSR State Bank released here today. Their full text is published in the 22nd issue of the EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN newspaper.

The main provisions are mandatory to comply with by all banks, associations, organisations, enterprises, foreign missions and firms, Soviet and foreign citizens on Soviet territory.

Deals struck on Soviet territory by violating currency legislation, including the conversion of foreign currency into rubles and vice versa (the so-called transferrable operations), which are conducted bypassing the currency exchange, just like payments with rubles for imports without a permit of the USSR State Bank are invalid as being at odds with the requirements of the law with all ensuing civil and legal consequences. Officials and civilians, who are guilty of violating legislation, may be called to administrative account or have criminal charges brought against them.

The USSR State Bank calls the attention of foreign firms and citizens for yet another time that involvement in such deals can cause huge losses to them.

Union-Republic Anticrisis Program Viewed

914A0758A Moscow TRUD in Russian 17 May 91 p 2

[Article by TRUD political observer V. Golovachev: "How To Extricate Ourselves From Crisis" subtitled "The USSR Cabinet of Ministers and Governments of the Sovereign Republics Program for Joint Action"]

[Text] On 15 May in the Oval Hall of the Kremlin, now well known from television reports and filled to capacity on this occasion, a meeting of the country's government was held under the chairmanship of USSR President M.S. Gorbachev. With the participation of republic leaders and representatives of public, industrial, and scientific organizations, a draft program for joint action to extricate our very sick economy from crisis was discussed.

Today this issue is one of the most urgent and most painful. The country, which has fallen into the abyss of a most severe crisis and has been wracked by a total shortage of goods, a "war" of laws, strikes, and national conflicts, needs an accord and hope for an improvement in the situation tomorrow and confidence in the correctness of the path chosen, like air, like a life preserver.

The existence of a clearly defined program that would be understood by people and have clear goals, be in line with the public mood, and be accepted by a majority of the people is a most important condition for public support of the government and its reforms. One recent sociological investigation contained the following question: "Does the USSR's leadership (or the leadership of your republic) have a well-considered program to extricate the country from economic crisis?" More than three-fourths of those polled, that is, the overwhelming majority, answered that in their opinion there is no such program. Where are we going? Toward what are we moving? What awaits us tomorrow? People are talking about this everywhere, at home and at work. And, receiving no clear answers, people are confused, apathy is growing, and discipline is deteriorating.

In this situation the issue debated at the government meeting was of great importance. The adoption of an agreed anticrisis program should be the next logical step following the joint statement issued by the USSR president and the leaders of nine of the republics, a statement that in the opinion of many finally opened up a path out of the impasse. In my opinion, what is important in the new program is not only the economic aspect but also the political aspect and the desire to move from confrontation to joint actions, reasonable compromises, and civilized forms of cooperation.

Representatives of almost all the republics (there were two exceptions), the trade unions, and a number of all-Union associations that are entrepreneurial in character participated in preliminary work on the document. The main result of this work was that it was possible to resolve most of the issues even though on certain issues of principle there were still disagreements that were discussed directly and candidly at the government meeting. Nevertheless, an important step was taken: They moved away from the former program of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers toward a program of joint action by the Cabinet and the governments of the sovereign republics. The difference here is very substantial.

A Switch to the Market Along the Entire Front

What is the draft anticrisis program? USSR Deputy Prime Minister V.I. Shcherbakov reported on this at the meeting. The program is built on an understanding of the fact that we can extricate ourselves from crisis only on the basis of joint efforts by the center and the republics. The basis of all action is not a return to the old system but an accelerated and decisive switch to the market, and along the entire front. Which, incidentally, includes large-scale destatization of the economy, with the main part of the work being done this year.

This can all be accomplished only with the preservation and development of a unified economic region combined with a strengthening of republic sovereignty. The draft suggests a whole range of decisions on delineating spheres of competence between the center and the republics.

The anticrisis measures include restoration of the base sectors by this autumn, curbing runaway inflation, and maintaining the purchasing power of the ruble.

The draft program includes a transformation of the entire system of the organs of the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply [Gossnab] and their transfer to a contract basis. This will make its nature quite different: a state middleman instead of a commander and the distributor of a deficit. The purpose of the innovation is to free up commodity producers by increasing their opportunities to sell output at free and contract prices. In other words, to open the road for the movement of goods, manpower, and monetary assets within the framework of a unified economic region.

It is being proposed that next year's plan be formulated on a fundamentally new basis, namely, direct contracts for deliveries concluded by enterprises, and complete freedom for commodity producers.

With the exception of those enterprises transferred to Union jurisdiction, a unified state order will be set on republic territory for all sectors, giving due consideration to both Union needs and interrepublic and republic needs. The deputy prime minister affirmed that this state order will not be "in the nature of a command" as previously, but will be placed on a contract basis. However, those taking part in the discussion noted the serious contradictions in the document. The state order is called "binding" in the document, while at the same time it is being said that it will be placed on a contract basis. The one does not jibe with the other...

From the second half of the year it is proposed to switch to a special regime for the functioning of budgets at all levels. It is a question of a total cutback on spending. It is planned to introduce funding for budgets in accordance with lower norms except for allocations for the wages of workers in budget organizations and for maintenance of public health, cultural, and educational organizations. In all other cases spending is possible only when the money is there.

Is This Not Too High a Price?

The deputy premier further proposed very strict economy measures which, it seems, will require detailed discussion since they inevitably affect the interests of the workers. "There will be," said V.I. Shcherbakov, "an analysis of all not agreed upon and agreed upon programs adopted (centralized and noncentralized) of a social nature, and all those not introduced by 1 June will be halted." All of them, indiscriminately? But what kinds of social programs do we have in mind? How will this affect the population, particularly the low-income population? Is this not too high a price to pay to save assets? And does it not give the lie to the government's concern about intolerable burdens on the shoulders of the people? These questions, alas!, were beyond the scope of the discussion.

It is also being proposed that an inventory be made and all construction sites funded by centralized or noncentralized state capital investments be halted except for special cases associated with the agro-industrial complex and the production of consumer goods. Even USSR Prime Minister V.S. Pavlov, who spoke at the end of the meeting, disagreed with this quite tough thesis of his own deputy. If a construction project can be completed in, say, six or seven months, he noted reasonably, then it is better to complete it than to freeze it. I would add that we should also think about the fate of the hundreds of thousands of construction workers who should not be left unemployed if construction projects are frozen.

It is another matter when we talk about major cutbacks in spending to maintain management structures, including structures of power and state management. This proposal, which was also contained in the draft, can only be welcomed.

Not the Dollar but the Ruble

A special place in the program is given to improving the health of the ruble. It is planned to increase commodity backing for the ruble, in particular through large-scale destatization and privatization. It is proposed to start this work with sectors such as trade and public catering, bearing in mind primarily the smaller enterprises. It is planned to privatize two-thirds of these enterprises already this year.

There is one more interesting proposal, namely, to organize an extensive sale by auction of both uninstalled equipment (of which we have 20 billion rubles worth) and "frozen" projects (about 100,000 of them). And this sale will take place also to attract foreign capital.

There was great interest in the report that beginning next 1 January it is proposed to switch to internal convertibility for the ruble. That is, our money can finally become real rather than "wooden," as it is now. And then there will be no need to chase after dollars. The prospects are very alluring, although to be candid, difficult to believe.

Is Social Protection Strong?

The draft program makes provision for a set of measures pertaining to social protection. It also covers the problems of unemployment (it is planned, in particular, to complete the creation of an employment service) and wages, and much else. It is planned to undertake a major reform of wages. The wage level should be regulated by rate agreements made between three parties, namely, the owner, government organs, and the workers. Only minimum wages will be guaranteed, and at the same time all restrictions on upper limits for wages will be lifted. It is planned to review the tax system in order to provide more incentives to earn money.

It is proposed to concentrate all social consumption funds and all state efforts, to use the words of the deputy premier, on providing protection for the non-able-bodied and socially vulnerable strata of the population, first and foremost retirees, the disabled, and families with children... This is the general thesis, but in practice the situation is still deteriorating. Does the government know this?

Minimum consumer budgets should be introduced by the decisions of republic organs. As far as indexation of incomes is concerned, it will be fully applied only to those who cannot earn money for themselves...

These are some of the key provisions presented for discussion in the new draft of the anticrisis program (naturally, it is impossible to talk about all the provisions of this extremely large document in a newspaper article). The general assessment is that the new version is a noticeable step forward compared to the previous one. The most attractive thing is its orientation on the transition to market relations, strengthening many of the rights of the sovereign republics, and economic approaches in finding solutions to a number of important questions.

Perhaps the Calculations Are Secret

In my opinion it is cause for surprise that the draft did not contain any specific calculations for republics and regions (it is understandable that for a country as enormous as ours it is impossible to compile a unified, detailed program, and so the draft is limited mainly to general principles). In particular, there are no calculations on the dynamics of the living standard. Will it fall, and at what rate? How, according to the predictions, will prices rise—will they occur during the second quarter, the third, the fourth? (some economists are predicting 350 percent inflation this year). Will the quantity of goods available increase, or, on the contrary, decrease? How much will wages rise according to the calculations? Will the number of unemployed grow or decline? By how much?

These and many other important questions have been left unanswered. Meanwhile, this is precisely what is worrying the man in the street—how will he and his

family live tomorrow and the day after? Will goods finally appear in the stores? Will he be able to work normally?

M.S. Gorbachev also talked about this at the meeting. He emphasized that questions of social protection should be brought to the forefront and set forth intelligibly, understandably, and specifically in the program. People are rightly asking this: Prices have risen, but where are the goods? Will they be there?...

I do not know if there are detailed calculations; I tried persistently for several days to find them and went to various high-level organizations, but all my attempts were in vain. Perhaps the calculations are top secret? But then how is it possible to defend this program? And why have a broad discussion about it if all of this is being kept secret? And if there are no calculations at all, then the workability of and arguments for the anticrisis program are in doubt. Incidentally, even the working group that worked on the document recently near Moscow did not have any such detailed calculations. It all seems very strange...

V.I. Shcherbakov talked about the near-term prospects in general terms. In his words, implementation of the program will make it possible to stabilize the situation in the country by the fall, and achieve a certain upswing in the consumer market and in industrial output by the end of the year, and to move "upward" in 1992. What he meant was getting back to the 1989 level by the middle of next year.

The deputy premier reported that this year national income may, according to the predictions, fall 10 percent or 12 percent—that is, if emergency steps are taken; if they are not, then it will be 15 percent to 17 percent (some experts believe that in any event the decline will be at least 20 percent to 25 percent). At the same time, the emission of money continues at unprecedented rates. This year alone the republics and the USSR Cabinet of Ministers have decided to put almost 39 billion rubles into circulation. In light of this, it seems to me that the predictions cited are too optimistic.

In short, for the program to reach every single person it is necessary to provide specific calculations, and to say openly and honestly what the inhabitants of particular republics or regions can expect tomorrow and the day after, and how the reforms will affect families with different living standards, and each of us...

An Important Victory for the Trade Unions

The lack of real predictions in the program of changes in living standards at the various stages of its implementation is a cause of serious concern for the trade unions. It should be said that during the process of work on the document during the final stage at Morozovka near Moscow many of the trade unions' demands of principle were taken into account.

For example, in the first version measures were proposed whose adoption would have placed many collectives in a difficult position. The essential thing was that first an enterprise would have to make its payments to the budget and only after that make its payments for wages. But it often happens that on pay day a plant does not have the extra funds, and through no fault of its own (for example, money has not been received from a client). So, is the collective to be left without its wages? It is easy to imagine the social explosions that this would provoke. It would seem that there was no argument here. However, N.D. Podshibyakina, department chief of the USSR All-Union Confederation of Trade Unions, had to expend a great deal of strength and effort to have this provision deleted from the draft document drawn up in Morozovka. Or there was the ban proposed in the first version on economic strikes. This would have been a serious infringement of the legitimate rights and interests of the workers. The trade unions spoke out vigorously against this kind of moratorium, and were supported by representatives of the republics, and they won.

Similar examples could be cited. On some issues, however, it was still impossible to reach agreement. And here the work must be continued.

A.M. Yakovlev, deputy chairman of the USSR All-Union Confederation of Trade Unions, who spoke at the government meeting, dealt with a number of problems that must be resolved, including matters relating to social insurance, privatization, price liberalization, and trade union property. For example, sanatoria in, say, Georgia or the Baltics, were built by the entire country, but now the republic authorities want to take over the trade union sanatoria and rest homes. This has nothing in common either with legality or with civilized attitudes...

The Task Is Quite Solvable

I think that a certain effort is needed to reach agreement on the controversial issues talked about at the meeting by the leaders of many of the republic governments—I.S. Silayev, V.P. Fokin, V.F. Kebich, U. Karamanov, and the others. For example, this demand was made: It is first necessary to divide up property (this applies primarily to enterprises) between the center and the republics, and then initiate destatization. This reasonable question is asked in response: Would it not be simpler to initiate this now, without wasting time on preliminary dealing? No, answer the republic leaders, we disagree with destatization under the aegis of the center...

There are not many such controversial issues, but they do exist: those concerning a unified state order, a federal tax, barter operations, the rate of destatization, and so forth. I think that given good will and the desire of parties to reach agreement, the task is quite solvable.

In conclusion, M.S. Gorbachev spoke at the meeting. He called for work on the program to be completed as soon as possible.

Yes, there is no time for discussion. It is essential to act. Unconventional measures are needed, the consolidation of all efforts to halt or at least slow the decline in the people's living standard and finally start to extricate the country from crisis.

Agriculture

Spring Sowing Progress Reported

PM0306121591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 May 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by V. Gavrichkin based on information from the State Committee for Statistics and IZVESTIYA correspondents: "You May Be About To Strike, but Sow the Rye!"]

[Text] The headline of this survey of the spring work on the country's fields contains an only slightly paraphrased version of the centuries-old peasant saying: "You may be about to die, but sow the rye." And it is no accident that it has been paraphrased. Even early in the spring, in considering preparation for the sowing in a series of articles under the general title "Time To Save the Future Harvest," IZVESTIYA noted the aggressive mood and ultimatum-like tone of the statements of a whole series of agro-industrial departments and public formations close to them right up to strike committees—they too have formed in some places. And the thrust of all the demands essentially came down to a threat: If the city refuses free aid in cultivating and bringing in the harvest then the peasants will reduce the areas sown to crops.

At the time, we also clearly expressed our attitude toward this. Threats and ultimatums are stupid and shortsighted political games on the part of the agro-industrial managerial "upper echelon." And the peasants have no time to strike. And however hard it is for them they will do their job.

It is still early to sum up the final results of the sowing campaign. But it is already possible to give an overall assessment of the situation.

The city is still tight-fisted as regards free aid, which under the conditions of the projected transition to economic market-type relations is entirely understandable. Sensible, thrifty kolkhoz and sovkhoz leaders realize this and for a long time now have ceased to expect the former "labor assault forces" and are seeking out interested partners among city dwellers and are building bridges of economic cooperation with them entirely successfully. As for the sowing campaign itself, despite stoppages in material and technical supplies unprecedented in postwar years and despite this year's countless weather upheavals, the sowing of the grain crops in the majority of regions is even taking place in a more organized manner than last spring, for instance. Here are a couple of reports as an example.

Barnaul. Altay is experiencing no particular upheavals in the sowing campaign. At any rate noone is shouting loudly (as was the case in southern Russia) for help, saying they lack this or that. It is true that the grain growers do not like the spring much—it is reminiscent of similar seasons in the drought years of 1963, 1974, and 1981. About three million hectares have already been sown to grain crops in the kray. The eastern rayons are completing the sowing, the steppe zone will complete it, as always, in the first days of June. Inasmuch as it was known that there would be nowhere from which to expect new equipment, they spent the whole winter patching up the old and went out onto the fields with it. The leaseholders and "one-man" peasants are particularly zealous. They collected all the old equipment on the farms and created a "machinery pool" for themselves. The kray is also managing as regards fuel, although to the detriment of other needs.

Stavropol. "Until the last hour we ourselves did not believe we would be able to cope with the sowing—there was so much that was in short supply. We exchanged grain for meat and meat for spare parts—exchange in kind with money 'on top.' Our accumulations from last year were swept away as though by a hurricane by the new prices... But as you can see we have coped," our correspondent was told by V. Ziberov, chairman of the kolkhoz named for Ipatov.

The Stavropol people have finished the sowing. The winter crops look good and the resowing and undersowing have been less than ever before. The spring crops are developing normally and rainfall is good. Areas sown to corn for grain have been increased and not to the detriment of wheat. So that the area sown to grain has even been increased.

Well, now the overall picture. According to the figures of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, as of 27 May spring sowing of all crops on the country's fields had been carried out on 105.3 million hectares, including grain and pulse crops (not counting corn) on 60.8 million hectares. Last year the figure was 60.7 million hectares by the same date.

For the main grain sowing republics the figures look like this (we give in parentheses the figures for the same period of 1990). In the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] grain and pulses not counting corn had been sown on 38.5 million hectares (37.4 million), in the Ukraine on 4.8 million hectares (4.6 million), in Belorussia 1.7 million hectares (1.6 million), in Kazakhstan on 14 million hectares (16.4 millions), in Lithuania on 485,000 hectares (472,000), and in Latvia on 414,000 hectares (377,000 hectares).

The figures cited need no special comment except perhaps for Kazakhstan. The situation there has been complicated because of the weather: In the republic's southern rayons the cold spring and drought delayed the sowing for two to three weeks while in the northern rayons conversely the soil has warmed up nearly two to

three weeks earlier, but the dry spell is continuing. Under these conditions the arable farmers have just one ploy: sowing as late as possible. There may still be sufficient moisture stocks in the soil for shoots and god grant that there will be rain for the tilling. There is nothing you can do: It is a risky zone for arable farming.

Actually, because of the drought many grain growers in many regions from the Urals and almost everywhere beyond do not like the spring. The Bashkortostan sowers are also looking at the sky with alarm—the moisture is leaving the arable land. And in Chelyabinsk Oblast the farms will perhaps suspend all sowing until June which, alas, according to the forecasts also promises to be dry.

But in the European part of Russia, in Belorussia, the Baltic republics, and the Ukraine, the rain has been really pouring down. Heavily. None of the "states of emergency" now fashionable among some agrarian experts will work unless you go out onto the fields with tractors. But in general we saw that the farmers were coping with their work even without causing the air to tremble with ultimatums. And in the "rainy" regions the crops are a sight to behold.

But trouble lies in wait from another direction. The harvest, which promises to be excellent, may "slip through" our fingers leaving empty ears of grain, may be "eaten up" by weeds, disease, and pests. Things are bad with regard to mineral fertilizers for top dressing. Everywhere the shout is going up: There are no herbicides or other toxic chemicals, no aircraft fuel for treating the crops from the air. And never mind aircraft fuel. Instead of ordinary gasoline the petroleum suppliers offered the Lvov people so-called straight-run gasoline which it is recommended should be mixed with high-octane gasoline before being put into the vehicle tanks.

And here, in order not to miss the harvest for which so much has already been done, we do indeed need "emergency measures." Only I think it is the union and republican governments which should undertake them and render all conceivable and inconceivable aid to the arable farmers. And at the same time put in order the prices for resources for the countryside. Otherwise we shall finally ruin the countryside and then indeed nothing and no one will help us.

Cabinet Views Urban-Rural Economic Balance

914B0178A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian
30 May 91 p 1

[Article by TASS columnists B. Grishchenko and B. Shestakov: "Stop the 'Price Race' Between the City and the Village, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers Proposes"]

[Text] The Union government held a regular meeting on 28 May under the chairmanship of USSR Prime Minister V.S. Pavlov.

Among the questions examined was one whose resolution workers of the agro-industrial complex have been

expecting for a long time and the need for which was noted in the ukase of USSR President M.S. Gorbachev "On Urgent Measures in Agriculture." The question concerns the provision of an equivalent exchange between the village and other branches of our economy.

According to estimates, additional expenditures of the kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms], which were not taken into account in the new purchase prices, will amount to 82 billion rubles [R] this year. Fifty-four billion were the result of a rise in the price of material-technical resources and capital construction, 22 billion—compensation payments to workers of the agro-industrial complex in connection with an increase in retail prices, and 6 billion—sales tax. There was also a substantial increase in the cost of constructing installations.

Thus, a key branch of the economy was in a critical situation. F.P. Senko, deputy prime minister, submitted to the participants a draft resolution, on which additional work had been done after the previous consideration, which, in particular, provides for the exemption of the agro-industrial complex from payments to the off-budget funds for the stabilization of the economy, a reduction in payments to the sales tax budget for the sum expended on the acquisition of means of production, a lowering of prices for mixed fodder and certain types of machines, and a transition to the sale at contract prices of poultry, eggs, and wool, and later also tobacco and tea. In addition, as proposed by the republic governments, it is planned to partially finance the rural construction of facilities in the production and social sphere at the expense of budgetary resources.

So, as the result of a sharp discussion the cabinet took an important step toward the restoration of price parity in reciprocal deliveries between the city and the village. At the same time, in order not to permit new defects and to stop the "price race," which affects the socially unprotected elements of the population first and foremost, it was deemed necessary to toughen the requirements for complying with the established procedure for price formation.

For a second time the Cabinet of Ministers also considered a draft resolution on organizational measures for the formation of market relations, the development of production programs and orders for the delivery of products, and the performance of work in 1992. Reviewed for the first time on 8 May, and subjected at that time to harsh criticism, the document this time also did not withstand the test of a strict governmental "jury." Speakers noted that specialists of the Ministry of Economics and Forecasting once again put a dual approach in the draft and tried to combine the elements of a market economy with administrative planning as it was known in the past.

In what way was this reflected? In a disparagement of the role of enterprises and the absence of a clear price, tax,

credit, and currency policy coordinated with the republics. After becoming "victims" of the delayed perestroika of an abolished Gosplan [State Planning Committee], and not having adequate information, producers are unable to initiate the formation of their own programs for the coming year in a timely manner. The document was once again returned to the authors for additional work. In doing this, the Cabinet of Ministers required that the mechanism for its preparation itself be changed, moving not according to the usual scheme of "from top to bottom" but the other way round. It instructed that direct contracts between enterprises be made the basis of economic ties, that the sphere of state orders be limited to a narrow circle which should not (except for defense and the agro-industrial complex) exceed 50 percent, that the sphere of application of contract prices be expanded, that the levers of taxation be used to stimulate business activity, and that the transition to internal ruble convertibility be implemented consistently.

On the other hand, there were no objections to the plan that was submitted, after the prime minister's emergency trip to Central Asia, for giving aid to a number of regions of Uzbekistan, Turkmenia, and Tajikistan to eliminate the after effects of a natural disaster. Incidentally, the opinion of specialists was that the unprecedented downpours, hail, and mud torrents were caused by the oil well fires in Kuwait. Talking about the heavy damage inflicted on the economy by the elements, the heads of the republic governments valued highly the helping hand that was extended by the Union in a difficult hour. The stricken rayons are being provided with substantial material resources, monetary means, and food and clothing, which, as is well known, the center itself is short of.

This, the speakers emphasized, became one more weighty political argument in favor of the correctness of the choice made by the people of Central Asia in the USSR referendum. Only in fraternal union is such unselfish support to each other possible, and only together can our people cope with any threatening misfortune.

Scientific

Satellite Launched To Study 'Ice Situation'

LD0506104991 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1000 GMT 5 Jun 91

[Text] On 4 June in the Soviet Union, an Okean earth satellite was launched by a Tsiklon carrier rocket. Its main tasks will be to obtain prompt information and data on the ice situation in the interests of various sectors of the national economy of the country and international cooperation.

Arzamas Plant Work Slowed by Lack of Investment

PM0406135591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 27 May 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast: Report by A. Tsurulnikov and Yu. Pechinkin, identified by caption, from Experimental Physics Institute at Arzamas-16]

[Text] [Announcer] A "Vremya" camera crew visited the laboratories of the All-Union Experimental Physics Scientific Research Institute. Until now television journalists have not had access to this institute.

[Tsurulnikov] Arzamas-16—the city of experts. This is a very appropriate label. Judge for yourselves. This instrument, which has no parallel in the world, measures the curvature of the eye's crystalline lens during ophthalmological operations. And this piece of equipment which resembles a bathtub is also unique. It is a bed for patients suffering from burns. They do not so much lie as float in it. These light, lamellar carbon-fiber disks which resemble ceramics can withstand a shot from a Kalashnikov at point-blank range. And if the Chernobyl firefighters and those dealing with the aftermath of the accident had had clothing made of this thin and pliable fabric, no one would have perished. It does not allow radiation to penetrate.

And what is most amazing is that all these new developments which could provide quite a few sizable enterprises with products worth specializing in and becoming famous for have been achieved here as a sideline, so to speak, in addition to the main activity whose essence is this:

[V.A. Belugin, director of the Experimental Physics Scientific Research Institute] It is the maintenance of the country's nuclear parity.

[Tsurulnikov] It appears that ensuring nuclear parity now is no easier than it was many years ago, when it was necessary to catch up with the initiators of the nuclear arms race and the Soviet atomic and hydrogen bombs were developed here at Arzamas-16.

[Belugin] We favor disarmament and the ending of nuclear tests. But on a parity basis. At present we are experiencing what is essentially an undeclared moratorium. Our funds have been substantially curtailed.

[Tsurulnikov] A production base for the implementation of a wide range of basic and applied research is essentially lying idle. People, experts of a most outstanding class, have no faith in the future.

[Belugin] Naturally, in view of our high scientific potential, we are prepared to and will engage only in development work of the highest standard on a par with world standards. Naturally, this is very expensive, as is well known. Clients and our potential clients view this with great disfavor, they are not willing to fund this kind of work. On the other hand, they are prepared to accept

products and the results of development work once they are finished. But what we need are primary investments.

[Tsurulnikov] But there are none, or almost none. And therefore unique inventions and developments are not finding their way into large-scale production.

[Belugin] Questions of this kind must be resolved at state level.

Military

Air Force Party Organization Backs Ryzhkov

PM0306125391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 May 91 First Edition p 1

[Lieutenant Colonel S. Filatov report: "In the Air Force Party Committee"]

[Text] The joint plenum of the Air Force CPSU organization's party committee and control commission which discussed problems pertaining to the organizational and political strengthening of Air Force party organizations and the activation of Communists' work in present-day conditions ended 29 May. Comrades V. Lasy, V. Kovshov, G. Timofeyenko, and B. Pirozhkov and other plenum participants exchanged opinions on a wide range of interrelated questions. Air Force party organizations' practical tasks in the light of the forthcoming elections of Russia's president and vice president were also discussed. The joint plenum supported the candidacies of N.I. Ryzhkov and B.V. Gromov for the highest posts in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic].

The following participated in the plenum's work: Lieutenant General M. Surkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR people's deputy, and secretary of the All-Army Party Committee; Lieutenant General of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and Air Force commander in chief; and aviators who are USSR and RSFSR people's deputies.

Servicemen To Be Paid for Agricultural Labor

PM0406081191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Jun 91 Union Edition p 1

[PRIAMURSKIYE VEDOMOSTI report from "IZVESTIYA, TASS, RIA, POSTFACTUM, INTERFAX, REUTER" column: "Servicemen Will Be Paid for Taking Part in Agricultural Work"]

[Text] Under an agreement with the Far Eastern Military District Command the Khabarovsk Kray Executive Committee has adopted a decision to use servicemen from units deployed in Khabarovsk Kray in the work to grow, harvest, and process vegetables and potatoes. The servicemen will be paid the same as student and school agricultural detachments. Servicemen involved in such

work had not previously been allowed to receive pay, the newspaper PRIAMURSKIYE VEDOMOSTI reports.

Soldiers' Social Defense Foundation Established

PM0406133991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 31 May 91 First Edition p 3

[Senior Lieutenant B. Soldatenko report under "Direct Line" rubric: "Foundation We Have All Been Waiting For"]

[Text] In Moscow, 29 May, the All-Union Foundation for the Social Protection of Ex-Servicemen was formally presented. This is an all-union social association set up to defend the civil, economic, and social rights and freedoms of soldiers and officers who have served the prescribed terms of active military service and are in the reserve or retired, and also the members of their families.

At the presentation ceremony the foundation's president, K. Tsagolov, delivered a speech explaining to the audience the aims and tasks of the all-union social association. He also expressed gratitude to the foundation's founders, which include the USSR Defense Ministry, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the KGB, and the editorial team of SYN OTECHESTVA [SON OF THE FATHERLAND], the weekly sociopolitical supplement to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA.

The presentation was attended by Army General K. Kochetov, USSR first deputy defense minister; Colonel General G. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces Main Military-Political Directorate; V. Yermakov, USSR deputy defense minister for personnel and chief of the USSR Defense Ministry Personnel Main Directorate; V. Isakov, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Council of the Republic; and also military attaches from a number of embassies.

Morale in Western Group of Forces Described

AU2305142491 Berlin DER MORGEN in German
21 May 91 p 3

[Interview with First Lieutenant Anatoliy by Yuriy Teplyakov from MNMS [expansion not known]; place and date not given: "Quiet as a Church Mouse, Heads Down Low"]

[Text] First Lieutenant Anatoliy attended the Suvorov Cadet School and afterward the Higher Artillery School. He served in Afghanistan for two years and came to the Soviet's Western Group of Forces in the GDR in 1986. Last August he escaped from his unit together with his wife and his son.

[Anatoliy] I do not want to give my family name because my mother is still alive. Just call me Anatoliy.

[Teplyakov] Was your flight a difficult enterprise?

[Anatoliy] By day it was impossible. There was complete mutual surveillance. The surveillance of the people is more thorough than the protection of military secrets by the special units. But I did not only betray the special unit, but also myself. I fixed neither the day nor the hour, so that nobody became suspicious. I waited for an opportunity and escaped. We got into our car and drove to Hamburg....

[Teplyakov] Was there a specific reason for your escape?

[Anatoliy] Yes, they wanted to transfer me to the Caucasus. And I had written a report: I will not go, I do not want violence. I am not afraid of death—of what should one be afraid after Afghanistan? I do not want to kill anybody, I wrote. I had killed before. But, God forgive me, this was a foreign country and the people were unknown to me. The order to shoot will certainly be given in the Caucasus.

[Teplyakov] What were the consequences of your refusal?

[Anatoliy] My commander began to threaten me: We will drag you through the courts and let you rot in prison. And I understood: Stop, you have to go. In short, I escaped from prison. They intimidated me by means of prison my whole life, but I probably have understood only now what I did not ever understand, that is, that whenever I entered the barracks I came into a prison.

[Teplyakov] How did you fare in your garrison?

[Anatoliy] When I came to Germany in 1986, I noticed that the army was not simply a prison, but a real concentration camp. Every day they broke me not only physically, but also morally. They destroyed me as a human being. Even the family was part of everyday life in the army, which was dictated until the very last minute. My wife had to attend political classes because Germany was regarded as a special area with special laws.

[Teplyakov] The Western Group is regarded as the elite unit of the Soviet Army.

[Anatoliy] One should have a look at this unit from the inside: Military technology is on the verge of ruin. Anything that can be unscrewed and removed is stolen. One commission follows the other. And you are always to blame, you are always threatened with arrest—either because of discipline or because of the disappearance of valuables, under penalty of legal proceedings. Any incident can be the end of you. For example, once new soldiers came to fill up the unit and two days later one was fidgeting with a knife. "You are training them badly!" the commander cried. But I had not even laid eyes on the soldiers yet.

In the Western Group a state readiness in the barracks also serves as a means of discipline. At any time the commander can instruct all officers to remain in the barracks around the clock. One can only go home with a special permit. Why? Why is one supposed to look for a

culprit? All are to blame. Once a month, the officers in my battery were not permitted to go to their families. Just as small children are not given food. Can you imagine what it means not to be able to leave the barracks for days?

[Teplyakov] Others endure this, but you escaped. According to law, you are a traitor.

[Anatoliy] Of course, I formally betrayed my homeland. But how many times had it betrayed me before? In Afghanistan I might have been killed every day. And on whose behalf? And on whose behalf was my soul torn to pieces? A fish begins to stink at his head, an army with its general.

[Teplyakov] For what do you blame your superiors?

[Anatoliy] For example, only the most malignant generals were able to conceive such a humiliating procedure as the handing out of food rations. You line up for a piece of meat and one kilogram of porridge and each superior who passes by tells you something like "You are always the first to eat, you would sell your own mother for a kopek."

[Teplyakov] Reportedly, a flourishing trade is being started from the barracks.

[Anatoliy] In the Western Group one's whole life is dominated by the German mark [DM]. For DM600 an officer candidate will torment his soldiers, so that he is not transferred to the Soviet Union.

According to the black market exchange rate, DM600 is a fortune for a Soviet citizen. When the German mark was introduced, humiliation did not exceed all limits for nothing. "You will now endure everything because of the German mark," the commanders stated laughingly. And they were not lying.

Even before that people were quiet as a church mouse and kept their heads down low, but now nobody dare say a word. The German mark—it is something terrible. It simply degrades the soldier. It corrupts even the best.

[Teplyakov] Can you give us an example?

[Anatoliy] Many officers do not spend any money in Germany. And if they steal some things in addition, the food rations will do for one month. The officers steal bread in the soldiers' canteens, even potatoes, anything that falls into their hands. These are not isolated cases, things are stolen everywhere.

Do not believe that these people were born thieves. But a man who is kept in a cage—sometimes he does not even get out once a year—becomes an animal.

And, if he is not even fed normally, it will make no difference to him whether he commits murder or steals. The brain of a hungry person is clouded.

Delayed mobilization is also hard for a soldier if his superior can keep him in the army for some months after the time limit. The soldier will give in and you can do with him what you want, he will give everything, even his accursed DM25.

[Teplyakov] What will you do if you are denied asylum?

[Anatoliy] I do not know. But I will not go back.

[Teplyakov] Even not if everything were to change in the Soviet Union and you were not regarded as a traitor?

[Anatoliy] Everything will remain the same. It is a lie.

[Teplyakov] That is to say, you do not believe in improvements?

[Anatoliy] I do not believe this. I ask you for one thing: Tell my brother who is currently serving his time as a soldier in the Caucasus to remain a human being and not to kill. And to forgive me.

Baltic Republics**Continuing Reportage on Events in Vilnius****Tensions Said Subsiding**

OW0506152791 Moscow BALTFAX in English
0930 GMT 4 Jun 91

[Text] According to reports from Vilnius, today all is calm in the city. Last night army posts were removed.

Monday evening numerous Army posts were stationed in Lithuania's capital, largely at bridges and crossroads, where they engaged in checking up people's documents. Groups of armed servicemen were deployed in city streets, particularly in the vicinity of Lithuania's parliament.

This morning the chairman of Lithuania's parliament Vytautas Landsbergis addressed the MPs. Tensions in Vilnius subsided, he said. Throughout last night Lithuania's provisional defence leadership kept in touch with Tallinn, Riga and the capitals of some foreign countries. Its attempts to get in touch with the USSR defence minister Dmitriy Yazov were unsuccessful. Officials at the headquarters of the Baltic military district said they knew nothing about the movement of troops in Vilnius. Later, Landsbergis said, it transpired that the military had stationed posts and launched intensive patrolling at the order of the commandant of Vilnius G. Belous. "There are no guarantees", V. Landsbergis went on to say, "that the military will not resort to similar actions today or tomorrow".

Two members of Lithuania's Home Defence Office detained by the military Monday evening were released last night, said V. Landsbergis.

According to BF's [BALTFAX] correspondent, last night some 10,000 people gathered in Vilnius outside the parliament building "to protect their legislature".

Speaking on local TV, Lithuanian MP Virgilius Chepaitis declared that the republic's leadership had been aware of the military's intention to launch some actions in Lithuania in the first half of June.

Incidents Said Exaggerated

LD0406145291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1350 GMT 4 Jun 91

[Text] A spokesman for the USSR Minister of Defense press center, asked by a RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY [RIA] correspondent to comment on Lithuanian events, said: The stepping up activity by Soviet troops in the Baltic republics is the fruit of an overexcited imagination of the higher order. According to him, the garrison commander has introduced only one patrol route, by the Vilnius Officers' Club. The number of men in this patrol can be counted on the fingers—there are only three of them, the Defense Ministry spokesman emphasized. So there you have it!

Landsbergis Cancels Trip

LD0406152691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network
in Russian 1200 GMT 4 Jun 91

[Interview with Audrius Azubalis, spokesman for the Lithuanian Supreme Council, by unidentified correspondent on the Soviet troop movements in Vilnius—live]

[Text] [Correspondent] How did Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of the republic of Lithuania, comment on the night's events?

[Azubalis] He said that we have some information, some signs, that the time was chosen by those forces opposed to the republic of Lithuania fairly successfully from the viewpoint that Gorbachev is now on his way to Norway, Yeltsin is not in Moscow—he is busy with his election campaign—and these forces were also served [words indistinct] by yesterday's information sheet, signed by USSR Procurator General Nikolay Trubin and distributed to members of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which brazenly and shamelessly distorted the bloody events of 13 January. The chairman also noted that this was the last chance for the forces opposed to us to change the political situation in the republic, because the signing of the Union treaty is approaching. According to the signs, we are also nearing a political solution to the Lithuanian problem. So, they are rushing to the last battle, so to speak.

[Correspondent] Will the intended visit by Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of the republic of Lithuania, to Poland take place?

[Azubalis] The situation does not allow us a peaceful life, so, unfortunately, Vytautas Landsbergis will not be going to meet the pope in Lomza, but one of his deputies will go. Who that will be has still to be decided.

Reported Military Moves Denied

LD0406162291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 1530 GMT 4 Jun 91

[Text] Now, I will read the statement by the Vilnius commandant, put out by TASS: From reliable information given to the TASS correspondent by the command of the Vilnius garrison, the reports put out by Lithuanian mass media, the Russian state television and radio broadcasting company, and also several foreign agencies on an increase in the activity of the USSR Armed Forces in Vilnius allegedly aimed against the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania are unchecked, false, and are of an openly provocative nature, says this note. In actual fact, military patrols were carried out in the town on 3 June with the aim of discovering persons refusing to fulfill their military obligations. It is striking that provocative fuss raised by certain circles is often connected with the departure abroad of the USSR president and his absence from the country, says the TASS correspondent.

Supreme Soviet Still Working

LD0406172491 Moscow All-Union Mayak Network
in Russian 1410 GMT 4 Jun 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Announcer] You know that yesterday several foreign radio stations even reported that the military had seized the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet.

[Kurkilaityte] The Supreme Soviet has not been seized. The deputies are at work today. By the way, they worked through the night, too, as there were grounds for alarm. Perhaps it was for this reason that foreign radio stations hastened to report the seizure. The military placed patrol posts near the building of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet and other important sites such as bridges, the airport, the railway station, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Therefore, several thousand inhabitants of Vilnius assembled near the building of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet during the night once again, just as in January, to form a living chain to protect the Supreme Soviet.

[Announcer] That means that the reports I heard were false. By the way, a report from the USSR procurator general on the preliminary results of the investigation of the January events in Vilnius was also distributed to the deputies of the country's Supreme Soviet yesterday for the first time. In particular, the reports says that the USSR Procuracy allegedly has evidence that near the television tower and the television center people were killed not by the military, but by lads from the Lithuanian regional defense department.

[Kurkilaityte] This information has also caused a rather stormy reaction in Lithuania. Many republican newspapers have called this information extensive disinformation. Landsbergis, speaking in parliament today, put it somewhat like this: Such impudent and cynical lying by the law enforcement bodies in the USSR Supreme Soviet discredits both parliament itself and its leadership. All the more so as the report of the procurator general does not name those who gave the order to fire.

[Announcer] Well, evidently, in such a difficult situation the talks—or to be more precise the preparations that have been going on in your region—will not proceed very quickly. [passage omitted]

Deputy Premier Complains

LD0406175991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network
in Lithuanian 1600 GMT 4 Jun 91

[Text] Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Lithuania Zigmās Vaisvila has sent a letter to Deputy Prime Minister of the Soviet Union Vitaliy Doguzhiyev. Among other matters, he writes that on 3 June of this year, six armored vehicles, manned by soldiers of the Vilnius garrison, were stationed nearly all day near the Medininkai customs post. The soldiers refused to offer any explanation to Lithuanian representatives.

On the evening of that same day, soldiers of the Vilnius garrison erected armed posts on many of the Vilnius bridges, in the city center, near the Ministry of Internal Affairs building and around the area of the Supreme Council building of the Republic of Lithuania. Four civilians were detained; two of them were released at about 0200. [passage indistinct]

Major General Uskhopchik of the Vilnius garrison refused to talk to the republic's leadership.

Many people assembled in the square in front of the Supreme Council building, as soon as this became known. Following this, the posts were pulled back; however the soldiers continued to sit in the vehicles for some time.

It has been established that some OMON [special purpose militia detachment] members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs were among the USSR patrol troops.

This was an excerpt from the letter from Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Lithuania, Zigmās Vaisvila to Vitaliy Doguzhiyev.

Military Vehicles to Vilnius

LD0406192491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network
in Lithuanian 1800 GMT 4 Jun 91

[Text] This is an account by Vilnius University Professor Juozas Vaitkus, who called us on the telephone.

[Vaitkus] Around lunchtime I found myself astounded. Right on Zemaitija highway, where I happened to be at the time, I looked and saw some military vehicles turning from Naujoji Vilnija Street—or maybe that is a highway—leading to Naujoni Vilnija; one of them was of a type that has not yet been seen in Vilnius. It was a new GAZ—it appears to have been of the GAZ-69 variety perhaps, covered with tarpaulin material, while on top there were two machine guns erected in firing position.

The vehicle was full of soldiers who looked on the ready, and having executed the necessary maneuver, the vehicle headed toward Vilnius. As it is known that a military [word indistinct] is also on that road, the appearance of such a new weapon in Vilnius does not make for tranquility. Moreover, as it was not present here earlier, it appears to be new, so apparently such new equipment is being transferred from the city's outskirts to the center of the city.

Well, perhaps you have already seen it in the city. We do not know what it is [word indistinct] for, because it drove away. In any event, to see a vehicle of this type in such a firing position really does not bring to mind tranquility or the long awaited accord and negotiations.

Army's Move Biggest Since Jan

LD0406204791 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 1700 GMT 4 Jun 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] According to a report from our correspondent (Juras Sinkevichus), at about 2220 yesterday Soviet troops closed off the 15 main approaches to Lithuania's Supreme Soviet. According to the military, they wanted to catch two soldiers who had committed a crime and fled from the Kaunas military headquarters. But it remains unclear they were being sought precisely near Lithuania's parliament and why the military, who were armed with submachine guns, checked even elderly people's documents.

At about 0200 the military returned to their barracks. Two people who had been detained were released after some time.

Landsbergis stated that he not managed to contact either the minister of defense of the Soviet Union or the commander of the Vilnius garrison.

As was stated in an interview for Lithuanian television by acting Internal Affairs Minister Marijonas Misiukonis, it has become clear that this was the biggest operation by the Soviet Army against independent Lithuania since 13 January; it was codenamed Koltso [ring].

Landsbergis on Military Control

LD0406225391 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 4 Jun 91

[Interview with Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given; from the "Vesti" newscast—recorded]

[Excerpts] Once again, as during the winter, the Nobel razzmatazz is being accompanied by the sounds of firing in the Baltic region. The USSR Ministry of Defense said today that reports that the Army had stepped up its activities there are a fabrication. According to the Russian news agency, however, volunteers from all corners of Lithuania headed for Vilnius today to protect the parliament building. This was caused by the events of last night.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] [passage omitted] Esteemed Chairman, can one claim that a wider conflict has been avoided through your talks with the military?

[Landsbergis] No, that would no doubt be incorrect because we have not in fact managed to contact the military. I asked to be put through to Dmitriy Yazov, the minister of defense. I was told it was quite impossible, no matter what the circumstances.

[Correspondent] And the local military?

[Landsbergis] The local military—in the person of General Uskhopchik, commander of the Vilnius garrison—were also unavailable. We were told that he was at home, asleep, and that it had not proved possible to wake him. The commandant was not on the spot. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Minister Says Vilnius 'Normal'

LD0406212991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1904 GMT 4 Jun 91

[Telephone interview with Lithuanian Internal Affairs Minister Marijonas Misiukonis by announcer Anatoliy Mikhaylov—recorded]

[Text] [Mikhaylov] I should like to know, tell me, please, how is the situation in Vilnius taking shape right now? What is happening there right now?

[Misiukonis] The situation is normal at the moment in Vilnius. People are working, walking about in the streets. There is no kind of military, as they say, no tense spots to be observed.

[Mikhaylov] Marijonas Misiukonis, have you been in touch with your union colleague Boris Pugo? What do you know about the reactions of the union authorities to what happened in Vilnius last night?

[Misiukonis] Well, first let me say what took place: According to the two official versions, what took place was a search for soldiers who had escaped from the Kaunas military commandant's office—that is the first version. The second version is that it was intensified patrolling of the streets of the city of Vilnius by the military. Information has come into us that approximately 60 soldiers of the Vilnius garrison took part in patrolling yesterday, but that patrolling put everybody on their guard, including in the Supreme Soviet and in the government and the internal affairs bodies. I had a telephone conversation about this today with USSR Internal Affairs Minister Boris Mikhaylovich Pugo and he told me that he was did not know what is happening or what happened during the night in Vilnius, and he also confirmed that the internal troops did not take part in those moves.

[Mikhaylov] What is your view of the mood among the people, your fellow countrymen? What are they thinking? Are they worried?

[Misiukonis] People were invited to independence square near the parliament, and very many came despite the rain. They gathered at night. Naturally people are being put on the alert by the actions of the military, but I think that the people have already got accustomed, and they are behaving calmly, normally, including police personnel.

[Mikhaylov] Thank you. All of us feel very much for you and we hope that everything will be fine in your country. We believe in you.

[Misiukonis] Thank you. We also hope that everything will be normal.

Army Conducting Operations

*LD0406221291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International
Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 4 Jun 91*

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] In speaking at the parliament session this morning, Vytautas Landsbergis observed that the Soviet Army stationed in Vilnius, rather than the Black Berets, has been openly used in actions against Lithuania for the first time since the January events.

The chairman also noted that throughout last night constant contact was maintained with Riga, Tallinn, Moscow, and the capitals of certain other states. [passage omitted]

Approximately 10,000 people stood vigil by the parliament building until about 0300, by which time the tension had subsided.

Pugo Denies Knowledge of Events

*LD0406223491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English
2130 GMT 4 Jun 91*

[Excerpt] Meanwhile, the Soviet interior minister, Boris Pugo, asserts he has had no information on the events of last night in Vilnius. Speaking over the phone with the Lithuanian interior minister, Marijonas Misiukonis, Boris Pugo said that could have been an attempt at discrediting President Gorbachev on the eve of his visit to Norway.

Minister Pugo assured his Lithuanian counterpart that units of the Soviet Interior troops would not attack the Lithuanian police and would not disarm Lithuanian policemen.

The Soviet minister, Boris Pugo, claimed he had not heard anything about intentions to use force or take some other actions against the Lithuanian Ministry of Internal Affairs. [passage omitted]

Latvian Leader Reacts to Trubin's Report

*LD0306175391 Stockholm Sveriges Radio Network
in Swedish 1600 GMT 3 Jun 91*

[Text] The conclusions drawn by the Soviet state prosecutor, that it was not the Soviet military who killed 13 Lithuanians at the radio and television installations in Vilnius at the beginning of the year, show that this action was planned in Moscow, says Latvian Vice President Dainis Ivans. The Latvian vice president believes that the action had prior approval from Mikhail Gorbachev himself.

[Begin Ivans recording in Latvian fading to Swedish translation] The conclusion of the state prosecutor after the investigation contains both truths and falsehoods, says Dainis Ivans. In the investigation the state prosecutor clearly shows that there were close contacts between the military in Vilnius and Moscow before the events at the television tower in Vilnius. In the Kremlin

they were not only aware of this; President Mikhail Gorbachev must have given his assent to carrying out the plan, says Dainis Ivans, who now takes a bleak view of the Baltics' future. The situation has been tense in recent weeks. Now we will probably get a short period of calm while the Soviet Union negotiates with the West about its huge credits. It is probable that these billions have rolled into the military industry and the Army; so it will feel strengthened for continuing its actions against the Baltics. Then a bloody time will come for the Baltics, Dainis Ivans believes. [end recording]

Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis believes that it is President Gorbachev's visit to Norway tomorrow that made the state prosecutor submit his report just today. During Gorbachev's stay in Scandinavia he is sure to face many questions about the violence in the Baltics, and then he will have this document to show, Landsbergis said, claiming that he had not expected any other result than this either.

Lithuanian People's Deputy on Procurator's Report

*LD0406141191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1104 GMT 4 Jun 91*

[Correspondent Andrey Zuyev report from USSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow]

[Text] Let me remind you that, on 28 May, USSR Procurator General Trubin prepared an information note for the Supreme Soviet on the course of the investigation of the criminal case on the events in Vilnius when the television center and the television and radio committee building were seized by servicemen and people were killed. It makes the following conclusion: The tragic events of 13 January 1991 in Vilnius were the result of the anti-constitutional activity of the leadership of the Lithuanian Republic. Despite this note, the Union parliament has not turned its attention to the matter and now we have new events. Rumors are rife. Lord knows what you can hear, here in the corridors of the Union parliament. But it is best to get information first hand. That is why I have asked a representative of Lithuania, People's Deputy Nikolay Nikolayevich Medvedev, to shed light on the events.

[Medvedev] I would like to say that one needs to look at this procuracy document a little more broadly. After all, prior to this we had just such a document assessing the events in Tbilisi which stated that the people of Tbilisi broke the law, for which they were punished—and a certain number of people were killed there. Then there was the document on the events in Novochoerkassk. There, too, the conclusions of the document were unequivocal: The people of Novochoerkassk violated the law, for which they were punished, so a certain number of people were again killed.

And it is just the same in Vilnius, you see. In other words, it is an indictment of those who suffered. This does not surprise me. Until the justice, procuracy, KGB, Interior Ministry, and other bodies are removed from

party influence, we will have this kind of document and evidently, both the Lithuanians and Russians, particularly Russians—their role here is special as this is our biggest and most powerful republic—should note this well. These are links in the same chain. The procuracy is continuing to carry out political orders.

As for Lithuania, it was explained to us that several men had allegedly deserted from the Kaunas garrison—servicemen who had committed crimes—and they had to be caught, and this was the explanation for the appearance of armed men on the streets of Vilnius and throughout Lithuania. But I do not think that this requires the bringing in of armored personnel carriers armed with heavy machineguns. That is the first thing. Second, the republic's government and the republic's Supreme Council should be notified about any such action by the armed forces. That would be the normal thing to do. So this is indeed causing us to pay greatly heightened attention to these events. I would like this attention to be maintained.

Trubin Statement Disputed

LD0406225291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 4 Jun 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Lithuanian General Procuracy states in a most responsible manner that the tragic results of that bloody night were determined by the actions of the Soviet Army Forces, while the statement of Procurator Trubin was issued in pursuit of certain political actions. The statement consciously distorts the facts concerning the situation preceding 13 January. The military units arrived at the television building in accordance with a previously formulated and meticulously worked out plan, which aimed to overthrow the legal parliament and the government of Lithuania.

More than 1,000 witnesses have confirmed that, in storming the television buildings, the soldiers opened automatic weapon and tank fire and were hurling explosive devices, notes the statement of the Lithuanian General Procuracy. According to the document, the statement of Procurator Trubin is viewed as an attempt at disinformation for the USSR parliament and the world public.

The Procuracy staff members have been granted the right to carry and use firearms. The parliament today adopted several documents, supplementing the Procuracy officials' job regulations. One of them states, among other things, that the Procuracy staff members are granted the right to carry and use firearms and to employ special means in acting to repulse an attempt threatening a Procuracy staff member's health or his life and also in case of a threat of being disarmed.

Meanwhile, the government press bureau has issued a denial of the accusations disseminated by the Soviet media, which claim that armed formations are being established in Lithuania.

In a statement published today, it is noted that the republic's defense units are not being armed. Only the security of the Supreme Council and the government buildings has been strengthened.

The government of Lithuania is not interested in any armed conflict and seeks to avoid it by all possible means, states the declaration of the government press bureau.

Latvia Warned Over Unfulfilled Army Conscription

LD0406225691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2106 GMT 4 Jun 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Latvia has fulfilled the spring conscription into the Soviet Army by only 25 percent. Army General Mikhail Moiseyev, in a letter to the head of the Latvian parliament, Anatoliy Gorbunovs, stressed that in the event of a disruption of the callup the general staff reserves the right to take all measures, without exception, for the unconditional fulfillment of the USSR Government's resolution.

Ruutel Views Baltic Leaders' Visit to Benelux

LD0306172391 Tallinn Radio Tallin Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 3 Jun 91

[Interview with Estonian Supreme Soviet Chairman Arnold Ruutel, by Ain Saarna in Kadriog on 3 June—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Saarna] [passage omitted] Gorbunovs, Landsbergis and Ruutel are just back from the annual meeting of the Benelux countries' parliaments. The meeting adopted resolutions which have only the force of a recommendation. Let us listen to Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

[Ruutel] The documents adopted at the meeting contained the following: First, to support the processes, the democratization processes that have now taken place in the Baltics, and the Baltic peoples' independence endeavors—well, this was perhaps the first aspect which sounded like a thesis; and to appeal to governments to also rely, [changes thought] to support the Baltic people's independence endeavors, and that by way of a dialogue. There were recommendations—also aimed at the Soviet Union—to avoid the use of force; that this [as heard] should only be done by way of negotiations. Another aspect which was emphasized was the need to open negotiations immediately. Next, speaking more about some other principles, they will recognize the rights of minorities, that is, in the Baltic states, with a recommendation to elaborate specific programs for cooperation with the Baltic states in the sphere of environmental issues, for example, in the sphere of culture, and so on. And there was some talk here about exchanging information; to open corresponding centers—information centers—in the Baltic states.

[Saarna] And so, parliamentary relations have been established with Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg. It is known that we have had fairly good relations with Holland before, less so with Belgium, let alone Luxembourg which is indeed a very tiny state, as you know. There was an opportunity for the Supreme Council chairmen-presidents to meet representatives of NATO, and Arnold Ruutel highlighted—talking about this meeting—the aspect of that our side at least attempted to convey a clear vision of European states being included in the process of European security, because we, too, are located in strategically important locations. This proposal met with a certain understanding on part of NATO representatives. As previously reported Denmark, Iceland and Canada were present, representing NATO. [passage omitted]

On Soviet 'Interference'

LD0506004191 Berlin ADN in German 2251 GMT
4 June 91

[By ADN correspondent Eckard Wuttig]

[Text] Tallin (ADN)—The leader of the parliament, Arnold Ruutel, does not rule out violent interference in Estonia's internal affairs by Moscow. As the chairman of Estonia's Supreme Council stated to ADN in Tallin on Tuesday, the latest incidents in the neighboring Republics of Latvia and Lithuania led to this conclusion, in particular the actions by Soviet troops in Vilnius and the repeated attacks by special units of the USSR's Interior Ministry on the Baltic republics' customs posts. Ruutel said he is in constant telephone contact with leading politicians from Latvia and Lithuania in order to remain abreast of the situation in the region.

"Regardless of these provocations, Estonia will continue along the path toward national independence," the politician stressed. He himself has proposed negotiations to President Gorbachev to settle future relations between Tallin and Moscow in all areas harmoniously. This mainly concerns economic and political relations. So far, however, such talks have not come about. "Moscow is demanding that we buy back all centrally managed enterprises. This is not acceptable to us," Ruutel stated.

The parliamentary leader spoke in favor of carrying out an international conference soon to settle the Baltic problem. All interested parties should take part in it. They are hoping for support from the international community, including the Federal Republic, for the further fulfillment of their independence. Such help from abroad might also give fresh impetus to the Estonian-Soviet dialogue.

Ruutel talked about a letter from the head of the Soviet General Staff, Mikhail Moiseyev. In the letter, the Estonian Government is called upon to pay financial compensation to the Army for all those obliged to do military service who are not serving. "We see this letter as another provocation. This demand is unacceptable to us," Ruutel emphasized.

The deputy spokeswoman for the parliament, (Marju Lauristin), announced the expansion of the Estonian defense forces on the same day. "We are taking this step to defend our borders," she said in response to a relevant question from ADN. The politician gave the current strength of the forces, which are to have an exclusively defensive character, as 300 men. She could not give any information on the equipment and future number of the units.

Minister Meri: Estonia Can Buy Its Independence

PM0306152491 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER
in Swedish 28 May 91 p 9

[Report on 27 May Stockholm interview with Estonian Foreign Minister Lennart Meri by Harald Hamrin: "Estonia Can 'Buy' Its Freedom"]

[Text] A new possibility for Estonia and other republics seeking independence to "buy their freedom" from the Soviet Union has been opened up. In a brand-new document, which DAGENS NYHETER is able to make public today, the state planning authority in Moscow, Gosplan, offers Estonia and other republics seeking independence their freedom, on condition that they pay compensation in hard currency for Soviet property in the republics.

At a meeting of the republic's Presidential Council in Tallinn today Estonia is expected to offer the Soviet Union compensation in hard currency for such property.

This was revealed by Estonian Foreign Minister Lennart Meri in an interview with DAGENS NYHETER yesterday. Meri is currently in Stockholm on his way home from a week-long visit to the United States.

In Washington, Meri also appealed to the United States for help to set up an internationally recognized arbitration body to fix the amount of compensation. In a letter to U.S. Secretary of State James Baker he also urged the United States to grant Estonia most favored nation status in trade with the United States.

"If we are forced to buy our freedom, we are prepared to do so," Lennart Meri told DAGENS NYHETER.

The Estonian foreign minister estimated the sum that could be needed to "buy freedom" from the Soviet Union at "a little less than \$1 billion." Asked where Estonia will get this sum in hard currency, he said that "we will have to work harder."

"But it is still better than fighting with tanks against tanks," especially when you do not have any tanks yourself," he said.

The background to the Estonian move, which—no matter how it is received by Moscow—introduces a new element into the Baltic efforts to achieve independence, is a brand-new document from the Soviet planning authority in Moscow, Gosplan. The document, which is

dated 8 May this year and which was submitted to all 15 Soviet republics a week later, has not so far been made public in its entirety.

The central section of the document sets out the demands which the Soviet Union will make on the republics—including the Baltic republics—which intend to "break fully with and to leave the Soviet Union."

According to Gosplan, secession from the Soviet Union can take place either in accordance with a law which is less than two months old and which envisages a five-year transition period, or "in accordance with the principles governing relations with foreign states in the event of this law's not being accepted" by the seceding republic.

This latter alternative has hitherto not been offered by the Soviet side and it therefore opens up new possibilities for the Baltic republics.

However, for the Soviet Union to agree to independence for the republics striving for it, a number of economic and trade questions must first be resolved.

So-called union property—that is, enterprises which are under the control of various union ministries in Moscow—"must be sold off in their entirety and then leased back on favorable terms" or be turned into "joint property with not less than half of the share capital being retained in Soviet hands."

Certain enterprises could be closed completely, and under such circumstances "machinery stocks will be completely dismantled and removed from the territory of these republics." This is probably a reference above all to large enterprises belonging to the so-called military-industrial complex such as "Dvigatel" in Tallinn.

The new independent states must "participate in paying off the Soviet Union's internal and external (state) debts."

According to Foreign Minister Lennart Meri, it is thus on these points that Estonia is now willing to go some way to meet the Soviet Union in order to achieve formal Soviet recognition of its striving for independence: Tallinn is, as it were, grabbing the weapon that Moscow is aiming at Estonia and turning it back against the Soviet Union.

"We are prepared to accept a solution to the problem of compensation on the basis of hard currency," he added in a key phrase, revealing that Estonia's Presidential Council is expected to adopt a decision in principle along these lines.

However, there are more Soviet conditions for giving Estonia and other republics full independence. The Gosplan document states in tough and uncompromising terms that "it is important that all credits and transactions in hard currency to these republics be halted."

Gosplan also states that future economic and trade relations will be regulated "on the basis of the principle

of the greatest possible advantage" for the Soviet Union. Supplies of raw materials and finished products of which there is a shortage in the Soviet Union will be "cut drastically." The only exception will be supplies to such enterprises as remain under Soviet control.

Soviet imports from Estonia and other future independent states will take place at world market prices—which also represents a heavy blow, since the Baltic republics are currently paid a higher price for their agricultural produce, among other things. But Lennart Meri stressed that Estonia is ready to make sacrifices to win its independence.

"In the future we are prepared to live together with our huge neighbor to the East," he said, hinting that Estonia would like to build up new and mutually advantageous economic ties with the Soviet Union. "But first we have to give our people a chance to regain their freedom, their political freedom. Today relations between us and the Soviet Union are founded on colonial brute force."

RSFSR

Progress of Russian Presidency Campaign Cited

LD0406201791 Moscow TASS in English 1738 GMT
4 Jun 91

[Text] Moscow June 4 TASS—"Today social tensions in the Russian Federation reached the limit, beyond which one spark is needed to trigger off a social explosion," said former Soviet prime minister Nikolay Ryzhkov, one of the six candidates for the Russian presidency. He made this comment at a meeting with the representatives of the Soviet scientific community in Moscow today.

Speaking about the election campaign, Ryzhkov expressed alarm over the growing "populism of contenders in the heat of struggle for the presidency".

"I'm afraid that in the elections the population will vote not for certain positions but for the popularity of one leader or another," he said.

Another presidential candidate, Aman Tuleyev, chairman of the Kemerovo regional council, met labour collectives in the Udmurt republic, the Urals region. Tuleyev paid special attention in his election campaign to the nationalities issue, and spoke out in favour of the genuine equality of all nations and ethnic minorities, their economic independence.

Head of the Russian parliament Boris Yeltsin went on a tour of the Urals from Perm today. Yeltsin dubbed his current tour as a working visit and not an election campaign. The current visit is also "business-like". In particular, Yeltsin is going to give assistance to the association "Greater Urals", a regional organisation designed to promote a more rational utilisation of the industrial potential and mineral resources.

Yeltsin's contender, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal-Democratic party, is tracing his itinerary like a shadow. From Perm, Zhirinovskiy also headed for the Urals region.

Zhirinovskiy met today working people and representatives of Sverdlovsk intelligentsia, but he will hardly win over the electorate in Sverdlovsk—Yeltsin's home town. A recent sociological poll showed that the chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet enjoys immense popularity here.

Two other candidates, member of the USSR Security Council Vadim Bakatin and General Albert Makashov, commander of the Volga-Urals Military District, also continue their election campaign.

The elections are scheduled to take place on June 12.

Candidates Campaign Throughout Republic

LD0406224291 Moscow Central Television First
Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Jun 91

[Video report by "special correspondent" O. Shommer: "RSFSR Before the Election;" including recorded remarks by Russian presidential candidates Aman Tuleyev, Nikolay Ryzhkov, Vadim Bakatin, Boris Yeltsin, and Vladimir Zhirinovskiy; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Shommer] Good evening! Russia before the election, and in essence our election must be made in a week. The shortage of time, and the amount of ground to be covered, are features of the present pre-election marathon. The candidates are visiting ever new places. Three of them have recently visited autonomous republics. It is not by chance that the main theme of their conversations and talks with the electorate is the problems of multi-national Russia.

The day Aman Gumirovich Tuleyev arrived in Bashkiriya coincided with the traditional national holiday of Sobantui, but this did not stop him from meeting the electorate in Ufa, Sterlitamak, Salavat, and Ishimbay. He talked about today's problems and tomorrow.

[Tuleyev] The republic must sign both the Union treaty and the Russian treaty. But more than signing, it is now necessary to give it the right, the genuine right, to use everything you have. For you are a most rich republic, most rich, and yet the people live poorly. It is necessary to help it get to its feet, both materially and technically, and also through the economic mechanism.

[Shommer] Today Aman Gumirovich Tuleyev is in Siberia. His route will take him to two more autonomous republics—Udmurtiya and Kalmykiya.

Another presidential candidate—Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov—also visited Bashkiriya. There was a rally in Salavat with representatives from neighboring towns and

country areas participating. Here thoughts were also expressed on the state structure of the country and Russia.

[Ryzhkov] It is necessary to determine the rights and duties of every administrative division, and in particular of our republics which compose the Russian Federation. We understand that these must not be empty words. This must not be an empty declaration. Specific deeds must be behind this. Slogans must not be thrown about so that depending how much you can swallow, that is how much they will say, and that is it. For this reason our task in the very near future is to conclude the Union treaty.

[Shommer] Honesty, continuity, and national concord are the main theses of the election program of Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin, and he expounded on them speaking at a meeting with the electorate in Udmurtiya.

[Bakatin] You know, we have living in Russia 160 peoples and nationalities. Moreover, I do not want to divide them into small and large people—we all live together—and every people can only be a big people in the sense that it has its own culture, its own history, its own language, its own customs, its own traditions. This cannot even in the slightest degree be damaged by any discriminatory measures. That is absolutely intolerable.

[Shommer] Bakatin's day today in Moscow was also saturated with meetings. An investigative, professional conversation was had in the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs academy.

Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin today met workers in industrial enterprises and on farms in Perm Oblast. In particular, there was talk of reserves and increases in the output of agricultural produce by introducing new economic relations into the countryside.

[Yeltsin] At the moment in the republic 23,000 farms have been created. We had counted on half. But they constantly tried to scare us: no one will leave the towns, and so on. Half of them are town dwellers. Why? Let us remember where they came from into the towns. Sixty percent came from the countryside. So through the mother's milk, and in the genes, this yearning for the land remained inside people, and if certain conditions are created, then people will return and take up the land.

[Shommer] Albert Mikhaylovich Makashov had a relatively calm day today. After yesterday's television appearances in the "Who's Who?" and "600 Seconds" programs, he is preparing for his meetings tomorrow with the Moscow public.

As you see, the presidential candidates' meetings take place in different ways, and in different places. One of Vladimir Volfovich Zhirinovskiy's conversations with Muscovites took place here at the entrance to the Sokolniki Park.

[Zhirinovskiy] I am the same as you. I live here in this area, in just such a house, of which there are many here. A normal two-room apartment. You receive the same

200 miserable, standard rubles, which you receive throughout the country from Smolensk to the Far East. But the fridge is just as empty. Everything is identical. I am the same as you. But there are millions of you. If you, at last, elect someone who will represent your interests, defend them—only then will we win together.

[Shommer] In the next few days Zhirinovskiy, just as several other candidates, is meeting with representatives of the industrial Urals.

The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic really is before the election. It is for Russians to decide to whom the most important post of the federative republic is to be entrusted.

Election Day Declared Nonworking Day

PM0406151991 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 31 May 91 First Edition p 2

["Resolution of the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies on the Declaration of 12 June as a Nonworking Day"]

[Text] In connection with the 12 June 1990 proclamation by the Congress of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputies of RSFSR state sovereignty and the adoption of the Declaration of RSFSR State Sovereignty the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies resolves:

to declare 12 June a nonworking day.

B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet

The Kremlin, Moscow, 25 May 1991

Yeltsin Visits Tula During Election Campaign

PM0406152191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
31 May 91 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent N. Kireyev: "But the Workers Had Something to Say...."]

[Text] Tula—B. Yeltsin has visited Tula. At around 1100 hours he appeared in the square outside the House of Soviets. The thousands of people who had turned up at the rally to support his candidacy had been waiting for some hours. The presidential candidate made a brief, traditional speech.

Then there was a look around the Tula Polytechnical Institute, which, for some reason, Boris Nikolayevich called the Kaluga Polytechnical Institute. At midday he had a meeting with the participants of the All-Russian Conference of Rectors, which had just ended. His speech was about ways of resolving the higher education crisis.

Boris Nikolayevich assured the gathering that questions of science and higher education would be a priority, and, later on, a superpriority. The first step was taken there and then. To applause from the hall, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme

Soviet chairman promised to allow higher educational establishments to keep 70 percent of the hard currency they earn....

Whereas there were words of care and concern for Russian higher education, the working class of the glorious city of armorers was simply unable to communicate its problems to the head of the Russian parliament. Even the meeting planned for the morning with directors of enterprises and organizations took place without him. On the day the lines of cars swept past the plant gates. Yet it is there that the problems are mounting up. And we are not just talking about conversion. The "rich" defense enterprises turned out to be wimps when it came to deciding their own fate.

One of them, situated, incidentally, in the center of the city, but without its own firing range in a secluded spot somewhere, keeps waking up slumbering residents with firing, the intensity of which increases, generally speaking, at the end of the month. On the day of B. Yeltsin's visit to Tula they started pounding away at 0500 hours. Unfortunately, the guest did not hear the cannonade, which the people of Tula, who have not yet lost their sense of humor, treat as a secret, saying things like: "Yes, we are breaking sugar."

As for real sugar, there is 1-1.5 kg per resident per month. It is even worse with other foodstuffs: People are rationed to 20 grams of meat per day, and even less butter and vegetable oil: around seven grams.

So the master craftsmen, forging weapons for the Fatherland, wanted to hear from the presidential candidate what makes them worse than the shoemakers or makers of television sets, who are swapping their products for food like nobody's business? How can they go on living? But the minibus carrying B.N. Yeltsin, accompanied by Toyotas and Mercedes, drove by....

Arrives in Chelyabinsk 4 Jun

LD0406193491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Jun 91

[Text] We have just received a report that Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, has arrived in Chelyabinsk. The program for his stay, which will last 24 hours, includes visiting the areas which suffered ecological damage resulting from the activity of the Mayak production association, the first Soviet atomic industrial enterprise; study of the problems of conversion of defense enterprises; and meetings with people's deputies and heads of local soviets and with working people of southern Urals towns and villages.

Advocates Faster Union Treaty Work

LD0406124991 Moscow Radio Rossi Network
in Russian 1104 GMT 4 Jun 91

[Text] Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin has arrived in Perm. Early this morning he was met by employees of the

Verkhniy Mulikskiy state farm and the Krasava hot-house combine. Replying to questions, the chairman of our republic's Supreme Soviet stressed that people should avoid going too far in the introduction of small-scale farming. However, local soviets are obliged to allocate land to all those who wish it, noted Boris Nikolayevich. Recalling the Nine plus One meeting in Novo-Ogarevo held yesterday, Yeltsin said that work on the Union treaty is not being carried out sufficiently expeditiously.

Boris Nikolayevich also visited the Perm Engine Construction Association and then met leaders of the city, oblast, and people's deputies.

Our correspondent, Aleksey Avvakumov, reports that in all probability Yeltsin will leave this evening for Chelyabinsk.

Leningrad Activists Deny Involvement

PM0406145491 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jun 91
Second Edition p 2

["Russia Facing a Choice" report by correspondent V. Gerasimov: "They Overdid It"]

[Text] Leningrad—Among the merchant classes, in the old days, it was the custom invariably to invite a general to weddings, purely for show. That is the origin of the expression "wedding general." Certain impoverished and useless generals could be hired for money, or tempted by the prospect of free drinks.

The local leaders of the "Democratic Russia" movement assigned the dubious role of wedding generals, without even the promise of payment or drink, to a whole group of esteemed and prestigious inhabitants of the city, as PRAVDA has already reported.

The following announcement appeared in the Leningrad City Soviet newspaper VECHEARNIY LENINGRAD 28 May: "On the basis of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Law 'On the Election of the RSFSR President,' Leningrad City Soviet Chairman A.A. Sobchak is appointed (by whom?—author's note) agent to Russian presidential candidate B.N. Yeltsin. In order to organize B.N. Yeltsin's election campaign in Leningrad, a staff has been formed (again, by whom? By A.A. Sobchak?—author's note) consisting of: O.V. Basilashvili, RSFSR people's deputy; G.A. Bogomolov, RSFSR people's deputy; D.A. Granin, USSR people's deputy; A.V. Levashev, USSR people's deputy; D.S. Likhachev, USSR people's deputy; Ye.I. Makarov, chairman of the Leningrad Federation of Independent Trade Unions; V.A. Morozov, RSFSR people's deputy; A.P. Petrov, USSR people's deputy; G. Khizha, chairman of the Leningrad Association of Industrial Enterprises; and B.I. Fomin, general director of the 'Elektrosila' Science and Production Association. A.V. Levashev is appointed permanent chief of staff, and M.N. Izyumov coordinator."

The address and telephone numbers are given. In conclusion, there is an appeal to Leningraders on behalf of the staff: We await your proposals and actions to achieve our common goal.

I decided to find out in more detail what this common goal is, what kind of actions the staff expects from the city's voters, and in general, which of the named individuals on the staff is responsible for doing what. Alas, the telephone numbers given in the newspaper got no reply. I called General Director B. Fomin.

"I learned of this high honor from Shershnev, director of the Baltic Plant—he was the first to congratulate me!" said Boris Ivanovich indignantly. "Nobody invited me to take part in the work of this staff, and there is no place for me there—I am up to my ears in my own work."

"I have not been and do not intend to be involved in staffs of any kind," Ye. Makarov, chairman of the trade union federation, said. "The primary organizations' committees still do not know the candidates' programs, and do not intend to support anyone. The 'Democratic Russia' tactics of enlisting such diverse people on the staff without even asking their consent are, to put it mildly, unseemly even in the context of today's political games."

Academician D. Likhachev and writer D. Granin also learned about the role assigned to them from VECHEARNIY LENINGRAD:

"I am very surprised that they have included me on this staff," Dmitriy Sergeyevich Likhachev told a correspondent for the LENINGRAD news agency. "The fact is that nobody called me or asked my consent."

My meticulous colleague turned for explanations to the coordinator of the newly emerged staff, M. Izyumov. The answer was so eloquent that it is worth quoting: "Levashev gave the newspapers the information on the composition of the staff, but I can't say whether he agreed to the publication with the individuals mentioned on the list. We don't need their help, we can cope by ourselves. But of course it would be flattering to have people like Dmitriy Sergeyevich Likhachev on the staff."

In short, the soap bubble of political speculation zealously inflated by the democrats at the expense of names that are well known nationally and in the city, has burst. The democratic gentlemen overdid it when they perpetrated their fraud. They can hardly expect to be received in the bosom of world civilization with tactics like that. A doctor's diploma, a starched shirt front, or a jaunty beard won't fool anyone when you haven't washed your socks.

Yeltsin, Zhirinovskiy Address Voronezh Voters

PM0406121991 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 1 Jun 91 First Edition p 3

[ROSTASS report under general headline "On Presidential Elections in Russia:" "Contenders' Meetings"]

[Text] Voronezh, 31 May—Inhabitants of Voronezh are being introduced today to a contender for the post of first Russian president—RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Chairman B.N. Yeltsin.

The head of parliament declared at the airport, where he arrived late at night, that what brought him to Voronezh was first and foremost the planned integration of the six neighboring oblasts—the creation of a Central Chernozem economic region. "This is a very important and promising initiative," he emphasized.

But the day before, the inhabitants of Voronezh met with another candidate for this high post—Liberal Democratic Party Chairman V.V. Zhirinovskiy. Of his rivals the candidate simply said to the voters: "Any one of them will destroy Russia." "Our unfortunate republic needs a young energetic president, with a European education. Of all the contenders only I fit the bill exactly," he declared at a meeting with the collective of the Voronezh Science and Production Association for Packing Machinery.

Zhirinovskiy considers that the difference in his program, with which he acquainted the listeners, is the unusual way of extricating the republic from the deep economic and social crisis. In his opinion, it is necessary in achieving this to first of all guarantee an inflow of foreign capital and the inviolability of foreign investments, and to desist from national-territorial division and switch to territorial division. The speaker promised, in the event of his election, to make the republic's economy healthy in the course of two to three years, and to remove the nationalities question from the agenda.

Zhirinovskiy Campaigns in Tula to Scant Interest

PM0406144991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jun 91
Second Edition p 2

[Correspondent N. Kireyev report: "Not Stinting on Promises"]

[Text] Tula—In the struggle for the presidency V. Zhirinovskiy, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of the Soviet Union, seems to be trying to compete with the chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet. Recently, at least, he has been turning up where one of the main aspirants to the post of head of sovereign Russia has already been or intends to go. Vladimir Volfovich [Zhirinovskiy] had only just left Voronezh when Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin] flew in. On the other hand, B. Yeltsin had arrived earlier in Tula. True, these two visits differed appreciably from each other. People had prepared in good time for the arrival of one of them. Crowds of excited people greeted with ovations and enthusiastic cries every word and gesture of their idol, who already holds the levers of real power.

But the second aspirant was unlucky in Tula. He was let down not only by the rainy weather. It was Saturday, when people go to their dachas. The support group

proved not up to the mark. They evidently hoped that the television program "Who Is Who" featuring Zhirinovskiy, shown on Central Television the previous day, would do the trick. But they were manifestly mistaken. Few people now believe fine speeches. The time that the candidate spent—just over an hour—within the walls of Tula Higher Artillery Engineering School left the students and teachers with a dual impression. On the one hand, they were shocked by his self-assurance and bravado and the lightweight nature of his views on ways to resolve very complex interethnic and economic problems. On the other, they were impressed with his youth, energy, free and easy nature, good theoretical grounding.... The guest repeatedly elicited applause from the audience when he vowed his great love of the Soviet Army.

"I will ensure," he cast these words into the hall, "that young men will weep if they are denied the conclusion of a service contract."

Why? It turns out that under Zhirinovskiy soldiers will receive twice as much as the average Russian. If they want to flex their muscles, they will be able to do so under the blue UN flag. For dollars, moreover. That's the life....

The country is in deep crisis, Vladimir Volfovich stated repeatedly. It can be saved by people such as Ivan the Terrible, Peter I, Count Witte, Alexander II, and Petr Stolypin. If we follow the logic of the indefatigable orator, we should go on to name Zhirinovskiy himself. But first he ought to enlist the support of at least a few voters. This is far more difficult than self-publicity and alluring promises.

Russian Candidate Makashov Interviewed 3 Jun

LD0406105191

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 1700 GMT on 3 June carries the 57-minute "Who's Who" program, in which Colonel General Albert Mikhaylovich Makashov, candidate for the post of president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and commander of the troops of the Volga-Urals Military District, is interviewed by Igor Fesunenkov, who provides a brief biographical note of Makashov.

Makashov begins by promising to do all he can to ensure that a soldier can obtain immediate leave to make an urgent family visit.

Asked if his training as a military man is enough to rule Russia, Makashov says that ex-servicemen are natural managers. They can work with many, many people, are well versed in political and economic matters, and officers are patriots and uncorrupted. These are qualities that a manager at any level needs.

Questioned on which human qualities a president should have, Makashov replies that he will let others judge what

qualities he has, but objectively one must be decent and straightforward, a businesslike man.

Fesunenکو quotes a negative message to the effect that he should make room for Zhirinovskiy. Another cable thanks him for doing something for Chernobyl children. Someone wishes Makashov success in his struggle with Soviet Zionism.

Fesunenکو asks: Can you save Russia's dignity? What sort of Russia do you envision as its president?

Makashov says: "It is particularly recently that I have been worried by the state, Russia, as a power, when I see that it can be pilfered bit by bit, that it can be looted, and that it can fall apart. As far as my work, my service for the fatherland is concerned, I regard the preservation of Russia's unity as the foremost factor. How is all this to be done? By all the legal methods we have at our disposal in our Constitution, in our laws, and in our experience. The main thing is to prevent Russia from falling apart. At the same time no one, naturally, likes or wants to live in a country which, although unified, lives the kind of life we have now, or we have begun to have in the last few years. As far as the business side of my work and my program is concerned, I believe that we must do such things to have a kind of life that is no worse than other people have."

Fesunenکو asks: What will be your foremost task? Makashov believes that everyone is interested in these first 100 days. "Everyone, of course, is now worried about order in the country."

He says some people have wrong ideas about him. "I will act only through legal means, within the framework of the existing Constitution, and within the framework of our existing laws to restore elementary order that is now absent in our country. Second, it is urgently necessary to look into our pricing policy and the latest price hike that dealt an outrageous blow against those who are poor. At the same time, this increase helps the well-off live better than they have so far, because most people have no stockpiles. Even the first 100 days may, for many, prove to be decisive, especially old-age pensioners, people in education, and those who are not well off are concerned."

Comparing himself with other candidates, Makashov says that he promises less in his program than the other candidates do: "I do not promise something out of the land of fairy tales in 100, or 200, or 500, or 1,000 days and nights, for these are fairy tales—but that there will be order in the country, that prices will be changed without fail, that everyone will be working and that this speculation, this orgy that is now taking place in our country, an orgy of selling off Russia and its resources—there is a great deal more of them now than what we had been selling prior to 1985—will disappear. This I do promise."

Fesunenکو asks what it means to say that Makashov is not for the privatization but for the sovietization of the

economy. Privatization, Makashov says, means selling off the fruit of our labors over many years. Sovietization simply means that work forces and labor collectives, rather than small groups of people, are the owners of the means of production. Soviets should be elected from within labor collectives and not based upon territories. Soviets could have two chambers, one representing those who work, and one representing given territories. He favors collective farms, rather than farms belonging to farmers.

Fesunenکو cites Makashov's program as published in the press on his policy concerning agricultural issues. He asks: Where do you obtain the land to give to the peasants? Why can't they sell it? Makashov says the GDR was a good example: if a peasant was working badly, the land was taken away from him. Makashov mentions many regions in Russia where 20-30 percent of land has not even been plowed. We do have more than enough land, but if we spend billions on individual farms we will die of hunger, he argues.

Regarding small businesses, Makashov says that only 6 percent of existing cooperatives are doing something tangible. The rest are in it for speculation and business, and the people do not benefit because they cannot afford a pair of shoes for 1,000 Rubles (R). Our commercial activities can carry on without all these intermediaries. But how can you pay R12 for a borsht, he asks. It is terrible, these prices have been increased artificially, he remarks. Fesunenکو says that more restaurants would provide much needed competition. Not necessarily so, Makashov responds, referring to his example about cooperatives.

When asked about how we would make use of the economic experience of foreign countries as it relates to mixed economies, Makashov says that in the Thirties Roosevelt asked for special powers to make prices the same everywhere and the process of emerging from the recession was done in a planned way. Emphasizing the role of planning, he says: "If we say that there will be 5, or 10, or 15 million unemployed—there are some who say 30 million—well, our unemployed will not go to a queen with a petition in a little box: they will take up the cudgels, or something a bit heavier, and head for under a bridge, and this will be a social explosion, because you must know history, of both Stenka Razin and Pugachev, and all our development, and the civil war. We are at present incapable of using someone else's experience in an unadulterated state, for we must take our national character into account, and I oppose unemployment."

Fesunenکو asks whether it is proper to combat unemployment by keeping loss-making enterprises. Makashov says everything must be done according to plans, labor productivity must be increased.

In response to a question on his family background, Makashov says his father was in the army and then in agriculture. His mother was a nurse. His wife comes from a family of many children, and her mother is

illiterate. If elected, Makashov says he will wear civilian clothes; his army service will be suspended for that time.

Fesunenکو asks: Why do you wish to resurrect the issue of struggling with the cosmopolitans? What is your attitude toward Pamyat? Makashov says the word cosmopolitan is not what people think it is. It is not your nationality but having lost your roots that counts.

Asked how he would respond to Yakovlev's article in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, Makashov replies that Yakovlev is a traitor to his comrades-in-arms, because he allowed our history to be besmirched, the history of the war to be besmirched. Yakovlev allowed this to happen as chief ideologist. He even removed a picture of Lenin that used to hang in his study. Why was he not so firm with Sajudis, or the former democratic countries of Eastern Europe? How can they praise Bendera in the Ukraine? How could Yeltsin light a candle on Palach's grave rather than at the Soviet veterans' monument, Makashov asks.

Regarding economic questions about socialism, Makashov replies we should not renounce what we already have, such as, for instance, free housing. Many people can buy their apartments, but what do you do with the others who cannot afford to buy? Do you throw them out? What about our free education? How can you expect peasants or workers to pay R50,000 for education? What about our free medicine? Admittedly, it is not so good, so let us help it, but not dismantle the system. What about our freedom and justice? Are these not socialist values? Not all capitalist countries live as well as depicted in movies, or by people who go abroad, return and become lobbyists for these foreign countries.

Fesunenکو queries him: But how can you pronounce on life abroad; you have never been abroad yourself, except to the GDR. Makashov says he spent 11 years in the GDR. God help us attain such a level as they did in the GDR. Now the GDR people are amazed at what they did and how they voted. In the Fifties we reduced our prices virtually every year. We lived better and better, not through petrodollars or vodka. It was because labor was highly organized, we invested in science and the intelligentsia, we were the leaders of world science. Who launched the first Sputnik for instance, Makashov reasons.

Regarding a professional army, Makashov says we have never had such an army, nor have any of our neighbors. It exists in the United States, Canada, and Britain. "I will tell Comrade Vasilyeva [surname of questioner] a secret: the U.S. generals dream of having the kind of system of bringing up the armed services to prescribed strength that they had before, prior to Vietnam, and which exists in our country now and also in West Germany, or Germany in general. The Germans are, all the same, a nation of warriors—you have to hand it to them."

Asked what can be done for officers and other ranks who do not have apartments, Makashov explains: "I have not

promised anyone that I can work miracles straightaway, not even over a period of 1,000 days and nights; this is discernible in my program." He adds that "at present the Ministry of Defense invests in practice a great deal of housing, and we are the only ones to fulfill the plan. If in my Volga-Urals district I received R44 million for housing—there are several millions there who have no housing—last year the housing plan was fulfilled by 103.4 percent. I know that the bulk, or more, of housing being built in Moscow is constructed by servicemen. The Moscow City Soviet ought to display not some kind of sense of gentlemen's fair play, but simply honesty and decency and pay its debt to the officers who have been hard done by in this regard.

"The Defense Ministry—I am here judging by my own district—currently invests everything it can in housing. Probably even more can be done, but it ought to be a state program. If the president of Russia tackles this issue in earnest and not just through paying lip service to it, if the local authorities come to the assistance—we have now gone over to this notorious barter system in which military builders come and are asked what they will give; what can we give in return, tanks for what? [sentence as heard] What is needed here is that local soviets ought to understand that servicemen, especially those that are being withdrawn from the countries of Eastern Europe, have a priority right to housing."

Fesunenکو notes that many questions have come in about the situation in the army: How many soldiers died in your district, and how many people have been brought to account? Makashov says that military statistics are secret everywhere in the world. "Only 1 percent of all crimes committed on the territory of the Soviet Union is committed by the armed forces. There has been a 13 percent decline in loss of life and a 9 percent decline in the number of crimes committed over the past year. In my district, which is roughly in the middle of the discipline graphs—I want better discipline and I will attain it—most of the crimes committed by deserters. My district is an internal one, not a border district. I have mainly those that represent the Baltic republics, the Transcaucasus, and Central Asia, because we are roughly in the middle.

"[Fesunenکو, interrupting] It is interesting who flees from you most of all, who deserts?"

"[Makashov] In the main, in the main, these are representatives of the regions named above.

"[Fesunenکو] The Balts, people from the Caucasus, is that not so?"

"[Makashov] Yes, and unfortunately....

"[Fesunenکو, interrupting] What, in your view, explains this?"

"[Makashov] This mass psychosis, the mass psychosis of sovereignty which began in our country, everyone began to want to be independent, without having gone into the

issue of what this independence and self-sufficiency will yield to the people of a given republic. When open appeals come for sons to flee, precisely, or when they come in their Zhiguli, Volga, and Mercedes vehicles to collect their children, and you take the big caliber weapons, the television, which for a while was calling for service to be done only at home, or when this unbridled anti-army propaganda was under way, not every young man will withstand that, not every young man will withstand that. I officially report that 53 percent of all crimes in the district are deserters."

Asked about hazing in the army, Makashov says: "I would also like us all, the television viewers, to convince the Supreme Soviet that criminals should not be taken into the army. I beg your pardon, not the army, but construction detachments, for this is where these criminals go. Those with infirmities, or whose health is weakened should not be taken into the army."

He is asked why he avoided answering about Pamyat. Makashov replies, "I do not like extremes."

Answering Fesunenکو's question about how he would combat anti-army propaganda, Makashov says that the main thing is "ideology which we have been deprived of—ideology, that is, a system of views. We all ought to have a system of views. Our ideology, the Russian ideology, ought to be patriotic, always. Well, why is it in a situation in which all countries have armies and these armies are preparing themselves—incidentally, we are left today with not a single ally, while all our neighbors along the state borders have grievances against us—well, can we disarm unilaterally and let our army go? In my view, this is premature. One must struggle against it be educating people, educating them on a patriotic basis. Only patriotic forces, having rallied around in Russia, are capable of extricating Russia from the position in which we have now found ourselves."

Asked about the prospects for reducing the costs of the armed services, Makashov says: "Before implementing cuts, we would need to tell the people that this is what we have decided: no one threatens us, threatens us. Someone must assume the responsibility—the president, or the Supreme Soviet, or the congress must determine that no one threatens us, so that there are subsequently no guilty parties for whom we constantly are looking out. Second, it must be determined what size armed forces we need. When we ended the war, we had 200 divisions. How many divisions do we need now? How many tanks do we need? How many aircraft do we need? What firepower and missiles do we need? We must proceed from that, rather than from being undilutedly arbitrary, bandying around figures like 1 million, or 1.2 million, or 500,000. One must calculate things and for this science, military science exists."

Invited to make a final appeal to the people, Makashov says: "I want to tell my fellow countrymen: Russians, it is necessary to unite, for patriots to unite. You must think of Russia, the homeland. It is so important now.

Let me tell you honestly that I am entering this presidential contest not in order to get an appointment or for gain. I wish to fight for our power. I want our state, our Russia, to be united, strong and, at the same time, affluent."

Fesunenکو concludes by citing cables from well-wishers and Makashov thanks them.

Explains Election Program 3 Jun

LD0406120191

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1545 GMT on 3 June carries a 15-minute program entitled "Prelude: Pre-Press Conference Interview," in which Russian presidential candidate General Albert Mikhaylovich Makashov is interviewed by an unidentified correspondent in a study; the date is not given. The screen credits read: "The program was prepared by a group of agents of A.M. Makashov, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic presidential candidate."

Makashov says he is fond of reading history and memoirs: a knowledge of world history is vital for every thinking individual. He describes the careers and family circumstances of his three children.

The correspondent says: "You have been given a great deal of press coverage, by no means benevolent coverage, at that. Then, finally, there appeared the description, the term, 'Black Generals, which....' Makashov interrupts: 'I have a black moustache, after all.' The correspondent laughs: 'Most likely something else was meant, which probably referred first and foremost to you. At the same time, there was talk in the mass media about a military coup, about military dictatorship, and so forth. Public awareness was thus worked on. In this situation you have nevertheless ventured to enter the election campaign. Tell me, on whose support are you counting?'"

Makashov replies: "I am standing independently. As you know, the Communist Party of Russia has backed Comrade Ryzhkov's candidacy; the other candidates have their own parties; there's the Liberal Party; Yeltsin has his own party. But I am standing independently. I would call my party the patriots' party—such a party could exist."

The correspondent then comments: "On this point, about patriotism and the revival of patriotism, yours is maybe the only program that contains this point. In my view, this is by no means a secondary point. On the one hand, in some respects it consolidates genuine patriots, while on the other hand, it frightens very many people, because today patriotism, the banner of patriotism, is often the banner of nationalism...."

Makashov interrupts: "Excuse me. We have reached a time when the banner of patriotism of the Russian state has already become a scarecrow. But that is terrible, for no stage can be without patriotism. Nationalism must not be confused with pride in one's nation. We have

more than 100 nations and ethnic groups on the territory of Russia. The patriotism I am talking about is Russian patriotism, pride in the fact that we have such a history, that over the centuries Great Rus was united—those are splendid words."

Asked what Russia means to him, and what sort of Russia he would like to build if he were president, Makashov says he champions the development of ethnic cultures and customs. He cites as the main foundation of his election program "the creation of an economy—or the return to common sense and the use of the best experience of international economic development—such as would enable all us citizens of the Russian Federation to live better. The basis, the root of my economic program is a wise combination of the best of what there is in the plan and the best of what there is on the market." He cites the example of the United States, which emerged from the 1930's depression by following the Roosevelt plan; the countries opposing Hitler adopted planned economies to achieve rapid results; and the USSR restored the destruction after World War II with the plan. "At the same time, I am in favor of initiative, resourcefulness, but legal initiative, within the law, not speculation and gaining profit by other means."

The market, Makashov asserts, can be applied in the USSR, especially in small-scale production, agricultural production, and the service sphere. But the plan, he says, is law and order. "If we were now to fulfill the plan, and in addition gave quality, then... pardon me, but we are very well aware that in 1985 we lived better. Don't you tell me that was because of petrodollars, or because of vodka sales. We are now selling more vodka and oil but receiving less in return." The solution, Makashov says, is to combine the plan and the market. As for unemployment, it can lead only to rising crime; what would become of the 30 million jobless the theoreticians are forecasting?

Privatization of housing might be all very well for some; but the majority of servicemen and of the working class would not have the means to purchase their own apartments, Makashov argues. "What about those who cannot buy their apartments? Are they to be thrown out in the street? Then there is the right to resell apartments to anyone at all; to whom, then? That opens up the way to foreign capital. For we are now exporting abroad more of our raw material than ever before. There was never anything like it in Russia before. You can see it on television, just a few scanty lines on what is being exported through customs posts. As the commander of a military district I know rather more about it. It's terrible! We are even exporting finished goods, and for kopeks, what's more; while goods are brought in costing millions."

Socialism, Makashov explains, should not be destroyed but be instilled. The principles of socialism, equality, and freedom remain sacred for all. Makashov then enlarges on his idea that under capitalism only some people live well, and then only by fleecing other people.

He argues that the major developed countries "want our Russia to become a semi-colony exporting only raw material. We will be the very last among the capitalist countries."

Makashov continues: "If we have now stated and assume the responsibility of saying that no one threatens us, and that we must make cuts, then I agree. Only someone has to say: I guarantee that no one will attack us; and then I too will say: OK, I agree. But as yet no one is saying that; they want us to destroy our state with our own hands. That disturbs me. I have been brought up on patriotism, on internationalism. I have no fear of all these isms, you understand; they are the best things we have, and they were good, and we must fight for them. I am sure that the people who understand this will vote with me against unemployment, against outrageous price rises, and against the selling off of our state."

Over video of Makashov answering the telephone, the correspondent concludes by saying: "Generals and journalists, miners and peasants, radicals and those who are quite the opposite, citizens of the Russian Federation: we have a common anguish, the motherland. Why are we still not together?"

Promises To Bring Order to Country

LD0406153191

[Editorial Report] Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian at 0505 GMT on 4 June, in its "Mayak Panorama" program carries a 28-minute interview with Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) presidential candidate Albert Mikhaylovich Makashov by political observer Yuliy Semenov. Questions from listeners are answered.

After supplying biographical details, Makashov says he is a straightforward member of the Communist Party, but does not criticize the choice of his running mate, A.A. Sergeyev, to join the Leningrad Russian Initiative Congress.

Semenov says there is a question from Yuriy Ivanovich Lovkin on whether Makashov will bring order to the country.

Makashov replies: "I will institute it by legal, constitutional means. To this end, it is necessary that our law enforcement bodies should not look over their shoulders either to the left or to the right, and should not use, or should not heed, telephone calls. Nobody should make use of what is called telephone law. To this end, we must inspire confidence in the law enforcement bodies. For this, those who issue decrees or make laws must take on the responsibility and always know what they will be responsible for. Then the law enforcement bodies will work more confidently. But support from all the people is needed, especially in the fight against crime."

Semenov asks: "Since you are a colonel-general, I will ask you this: What about the army? Is order sufficiently ensured there?"

Makashov says: "No, just as throughout society, there is a very great deal of work to come."

Semenov asks: "How do you propose to go about this so that we will not have bullying, or robbery, or weapons missing from certain weak links?"

Makashov replies: "To this end, the army must be helped and not persecuted. I think that by joint efforts, first and foremost from the Ministry of Defense and the commanders of the districts, including myself, we must do a great deal of work. We are busy with this." Semenov then asks Makashov how his program differs from that of the other candidates.

Makashov answers: "I am against the capitalization of our society, against privatization of state property, against selling Russia off to foreigners, against liberalization of prices, and against the unemployment that may arise here if our switch to the capitalist track is completed. As far as I understand from the programs of my rivals and from their speeches, they are in favor of the capitalist track of development."

Semenov says he will now ask some listeners' questions about Makashov's attitude to Stalin, to the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and to the war in Afghanistan.

Makashov says: "My attitude to Stalin is mixed. I find Stalinism unacceptable, just as I find the chaos that we have now in the country unacceptable. But I think that one must be objective in military aspects of Stalin's work. In view of the fact that Stalin led us during the war years, I can only repeat Molotov's words about the significance of the work of the Supreme commander-in-chief. As for the rest, it is not acceptable. As for putting troops into Czechoslovakia in 1968, this action was correct for those times. We could not, with a Cold War going on and with hundreds of missiles mostly belonging to NATO and aimed at our Union, we could not have NATO troops on our border. That is unambiguous. A lot of time has passed. Now perhaps one could assess things differently. As for putting troops into Afghanistan, I will say unambiguously that this was a gross mistake, if not stupidity on the part of the leadership. From the military point of view, it was simply ignorance of the region, ignorance of the customs, and ignorance of the history of our neighbor, and we paid for our mistake."

Asked about the increasing tendency for military men to get involved in politics, Makashov says this is natural, since they care as much as anybody about the country's future. Asked where the money to raise wages will come from, Makashov suggests that preventing price rises will be as effective as raising wages. Better organization of work will bring benefits for everybody and for the state's finances.

Semenov asks: "What is your position concerning ownership of land? Ownership, possession, inheritance, sale, and purchase?"

Makashov answers: "Land must not be sold. Land should be allocated to those who wish it for use ad infinitum, with the right to pass it on. But if a local soviet or community finds that the land is not being worked well, it should be taken away, as in all civilized countries of the world."

Makashov explains what patriotism means to him: Love of the motherland includes recognizing mistakes and rectifying them, but not denigrating its history or its people. Asked about deaths and crime in the army, Makashov quotes figures comparing suicide, accidents, and crime in the army with those in society as a whole. Asked about interethnic problems in the army, Makashov says they should not exist; the army should be a school of internationalism. Makashov says he hopes to be able to attend meetings in labor collectives if the Ministry of Defense gives him permission.

Semenov asks about the idea in circulation that some candidates may pull out at the last moment and ask their supporters to vote for someone else. Makashov says he did not agree to stand for president just in order to abandon it.

Urges 'Political Stability'

PM0506130391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 5 Jun 91 First Edition p 1

[Roundup of TASS, RIA, and correspondents' reports: "Russia: Chronicle of Election Marathon"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Colonel General A. Makashov, commander of the Volga-Urals Military District, gave an interview to the BBC television company. We cite a few fragments of the interview.

Question. What tactics are your opponents using? Do you consider their methods of struggle to be honest?

Answer. Life shows that all methods are used. But I consider myself a gentleman and I operate within that framework.

Question. In your view, what does Russia need today?

Answer. Calm, law and order, and political stability.

Question. Who will follow you?

Answer. The patriotically minded population.

Question. If you are elected, upon what principles will you build mutual relations with the USSR president and with B. Yeltsin?

Answer. Flexibly, on the basis of the principles of legality.

Question. And with the West?

Answer. On an equal basis.

Question. All Soviet leaders have asked the West for financial aid. Will you do that if you are elected?

Answer. I shall ask the people. [end of account of Makashov interview]

Rumors are circulating Sverdlovsk that two divisions are being moved from Germany to Kamyshlov "specially" for the election of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president. Naturally the soldiers will be forced to vote against B. Yeltsin.

It is clear to any sane person that it is impossible to move troops within such a brief schedule. But.... Recently our correspondent visited the Sverdlovsk headquarters for assisting B. Yeltsin. But immediately the headquarters leader, A. Tanacheva, asked a question... about the movement of the divisions. [passage omitted]

Meets Sverdlovsk Garrison

PM0306201291 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Jun 91 First Edition p 2

[Correspondent S. Ryabov report: "The General Begins the 'Battle'..."]

Sverdlovsk—"History has seen many examples of the fatherland being saved by the military!"

These aphoristic words were spoken by the agent for Russian presidential candidate A. Makashov, commander of the Volga-Urals Military District. They were spoken in the auditorium at the Sverdlovsk Garrison Officers' Institute, where the colonel general had a meeting with his voters 30 May.

The majority of places in the building, as was to be expected, were taken by soldiers and officers, participants in and veterans of the Great Patriotic War, and servicemen of the reserve. Albert Mikhaylovich's speech was rather like the reflections of an experienced strategist before a decisive battle: accuracy of expression, clarity of purpose, categorical directness in answering questions from the audience "team."

What was discussed? In general, our newspaper's readers are already familiar with the main provisions of A. Makashov's presidential program (see PRAVDA for 29 May this year). Here, too, at the meeting with the people of Sverdlovsk, he once again reminded them what he intends to seek on behalf of the republic's inhabitants if he "wins the battle" in the contest against the other contenders.

Candidate Tuleyev Visits Izhevsk 4 Jun

LD0406184191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program
Radio-1 Network in Russian 1400 GMT 4 Jul 91

[Text] Russian presidential candidate Tuleyev carried out a broad program of meetings in Izhevsk today. He visited railwaymen and the collective of the (Sakton) industrial-trade association, and had meetings with the chairmen of town and rayon soviets of Udmurtia and with the town's aktiv. At the Council of Ministers he had a talk about economic cooperation with Kemerovo

Oblast, where the candidate currently works as chairman of the oblast soviet of people's deputies. More than 100 nationalities make up Russia's population. For this reason, the candidate puts their protection and development at the center of his concerns. They should gain genuine equality with the Russian people, and have economic independence and a clearcut program of action to get out of today's pitiful condition. Without doubt, all national formations should sign the federation and Union treaties.

Meets with Voters

PM0506085191 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 4 Jun 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent M. Merzabekov: "By Spirit I Am an Internationalist"]

[Excerpts] Ufa—Russian presidential candidate A.M. Tuleyev has met with the voters of Bashkortostan. He spent the entire day in Ishimbay City and the adjacent rural region. He held a press conference in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party City Committee. Then, at the invitation of the "Kyzyl Ural" collective farm workers, he attended a traditional festival—the sabantuy. But here, too, on the spring field, he answered questions from voters and journalists and explained his program. [passage omitted]

There was also a question about the sovereignty of the republics belonging to the RSFSR. "I am against total centralization," the candidate replied. "For instance, I often see Bashkortostan Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Chairman M.G. Rakhimov in Moscow, where he is seeking recognition for the sovereignty proclaimed by Bashkortostan. But why must the Bashkir people ask for state and national independence? It is the right of every people. We in Bashkortostan have all the resources for the republic to become a flourishing region. But all this wealth is unfairly confiscated by the center. I believe that a certain proportion of output should be left for the region to dispose of. In addition national traditions should also be considered in the economy." [passage omitted]

Denies Exiting Presidential Race

PM0406154791 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 31 May 91 First Edition p 1

[RosTASS correspondent S. Trofimov report: "'I Will Fight to the Last'"]

[Text] Ulan-Ude, 30 May—All the autonomous formations and representatives of all the nations and peoples of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] should participate in the signing of the Union and Federal Treaties, stated Russian presidential candidate Aman-geldy Tuleyev, who arrived in the Buryat capital in the early hours of this morning.

"The national-state system in Russia still remains confused. It is essential to unify our autonomous entity. We must not fragment and 'reclassify' the people. At the same time declaring a region or rayon national is not enough, they should be granted economic autonomy. In other words, it is necessary to elaborate a mechanism which ensures that the rights and proclaimed sovereignties are exercised."

The presidential candidate visited the Ulan-Ude fine-cloth combine, where he learned about the people's working and living conditions. In his words, the chief task is to implement the anticrisis program, where an important place is accorded to the skillful use of the national factor. It is necessary to create and support in every way the economic activity which each people are renowned for and which forms part of their national pride and culture. It is important in so doing to combine quickly Russia's raw material riches with the best examples of technology.

Aman-geldy Tuleyev presented his platform at a plant producing metal bridge structures, the "Buryatferm-mash" association, the Ulan-Ude City Soviet, and the republic supreme soviet.

The presidential contender denied rumors that he intends to pull out of the election marathon.

Bakatin Interviewed on Campaign Issues 4 Jun

LD0406190891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1352 GMT 4 Jun 91

[Interview with Russian presidential candidate Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin, Security Council member, by unidentified correspondent in Moscow on 4 June—recorded]

[Excerpts] This morning a meeting with Russian presidential candidate Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin was held at the Ministry of Internal Affairs Academy. [passage omitted] Here are the answers to the questions I managed to ask, one at the meeting and one right after it ended.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Radio Mayak: Vadim Viktorovich, you have said that your program can be described in one word: accord. Do you think that accord has to be fought for, and if so, how?

[Bakatin] Accord must be fought for primarily by respecting the opinion of one's opponent. You know, there is a rule of government: Government by consent of the governed. It is, of course, possible to govern by force alone, but this is not the right sort of government. It sits poorly with democratic government. So I think that by relying on common sense, casting aside extremism of both left and right, and clearing ideology out of the economy.... [changes thought] The economy should follow one thing—common sense—and do what is useful, and not what is in line with this or that dogma. But just this one word is very brief. Accord is number

one; common sense is number two; and strict priorities is number three. One must not promise everything to everybody right now—honesty is number four. So it is not just accord alone. Accord is based not on blind faith; accord is based on everybody knowing and everybody participating in this process. We lay out all our cards; we say: This is the situation, let us decide together, you, in the final analysis, have the power, you are the people. Do you want it like this, or not?

[Correspondent] Vadim Viktorovich, among your priority tasks you have named education, attention to the younger generation.

[Bakatin] Rural areas, and education.

[Correspondent] Yes. And filling the market with food.

[Bakatin] That is rural areas, filling the market, that is, two, two priorities. Yes.

[Correspondent] Two priorities. Please tell us, what place among your tasks is given to the fight against crime, to law enforcement?

[Bakatin] I would probably even put human rights in first place, in any case. Because in the final analysis, feeding a person is his right. (He cannot go hungry), and educating him, and giving him an education worthy of a human being—that, too, is his right. These are details, but human rights are a more general category, and this probably comes in first place. One must be a realist and understand that in transitional periods—and even more so from some totalitarian regime, where in fact initiative for such freedom, for democracy, is suppressed under conditions of a low cultural level, conditions under which we are simply not ready to perceive democracy, understanding it as all-permissiveness—that in the transition to this freer economy, and this is the logic the world over—take the statistics of literally all countries—you will see that in this period, crime always increases.

The question is a serious one, but today, if you compare the crime rates, even with our statistics, albeit our statistics are not perfect, today we have 900 crimes per 100,000—that is in the Soviet Union—in the United States it is 5,500, and in the FRG 9,000. That is, we are still behind their level, and sometimes we panic too much, you understand. But one must understand that the process, the trend, is not going in our favor, and it will not be halted simply by slogans and appeals and just talk. It can only be halted if, first of all, we cultivate the professionalism of the militia and create the legal basis, so to speak, that accords with the new realities of life. Here and there, this basis is collapsing in our country. We are probably a bit behind in some things, but the Academy can tell you better—why am I telling you about these things now? Come, and they [words indistinct].

[Correspondent] Thank you, and good luck in your election campaign. [end recording]

So that was the end of this meeting, and right away—literally immediately—Vadim Viktorovich drove off to

his next... the program is packed, and literally at this very minute he is meeting Moscow State University students.

Visits Bryansk

OW0406050991 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1500 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Mr Vadim Bakatin, member of the Security Council of the USSR and a candidate for the presidency of the Russian Federation, arrived in the city of Bryansk—the centre of the Bryansk region of Russia—on May 31 as part of his election campaign. The region was affected by the Chernobyl disaster in 1986.

In an interview to our correspondent in the city's airport, Mr Bakatin said he thought "it necessary to take a closer look at the way people lived here, because if it so happened that I became president I'd be in a position to take more specific action on these matters [relating to coping with the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster]".

Asked what would be his first steps if he were elected president, the contender replied that he had been asked this question a hundred times. "We are forgetting about continuity," he said. "As if a new man elected meant the start of a new reign. There's the Supreme Soviet, there's the Congress of People's Deputies, there's the government—all these mechanisms are working. We'll be carrying on the work already begun, only more energetically."

The same day Mr Bakatin visited the town of Novozhybkov which had been affected by the Chernobyl disaster.

Ryzhkov Addresses Students at Campaign Rally

PM0406084591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Jun 91 Second Edition p 2

[I. Malyarov report: "Whom Will Students Prefer?"]

[Text] Moscow—What kind of future awaits Russian students? How is the social protection of young people to be ensured? This was spoken of at a meeting between students of the capital's higher educational institutions and Russian presidential candidate N. Ryzhkov. Young people of leading educational institutions—Moscow State University, Moscow State Technical University, MPGU [expansion unknown], the First Moscow Medical Institute, and others—voiced support for the aspirant's socioeconomic program. They are impressed by such points in it as the halving of the prices of essential goods—children's goods above all—the guaranteed right to a first job and the ban on dismissal during the first three years, the system of legislative benefits for students and young working people, the exclusion of discrimination in labor remuneration for young people and the indexation of grants, the guaranteed receipt of housing from the state stock, and the development of youth housing construction as a counterweight to hasty and unjustified privatization. N. Ryzhkov declared: It is

intellect and talent, not the material potential of relatives or parents' tightly stuffed wallets, that must be the basis for securing education.

Nikolay Ivanovich came out sharply against the shock therapy for the economy proposed by Russian presidential candidate B. Yeltsin.

It should be emphasized that the meeting was held on the initiative of the "Youth in Support of Ryzhkov" committee. The committee and all the participants in the meeting appealed to young Russians to support the program of the Russian presidential candidate. The contact telephone number of the "Youth in Support of Ryzhkov" committee is 925-43-24.

RSFSR Vice Presidential Candidates Hold Debate

LD0206134191

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1850 GMT on 30 May carries an 80-minute live debate among the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) vice presidential candidates Andrey Fedorovich Zavidya, Aleksey Alekseyevich Sergeyev, Ramazan Gadzhimuradovich Abdulatipov, and Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy. They are the respective running mates of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, Albert Makashov, Vadim Bakatin, and Boris Yeltsin. The debate is moderated by Sergey Grigoryevich Torchinskiy.

According to Torchinsky: "We should have had all six candidates here, but Boris Vsevolodovich Gromov's personnel told us that he could not attend. Viktor Bocharov also telephoned to say that he could not attend." He then asks what the candidates think their reasons are for not attending the debate.

Rutskoy and Torchinskiy speculate that only the candidates really know. Sergeyev says: "I think that Boris Vsevolodovich probably cannot leave Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov on his own, since I know that he is here in the television center."

After the exchange the candidates are asked whether they are friends or enemies. They all agree that they are the best of friends. They then discuss what it means to them to be No. two rather than No. one. Abdulatipov says that the difference is not very important; the important thing is to be the first in your own field.

The four candidates then give a short biographical sketch of themselves. Among them, Abdulatipov reveals that he was born in Dagestan in 1946, in one of the highest mountain villages of the republic, about 3,000 meters above sea level. Rutskoy says his main profession is a pilot. He spent 24 years in the army and has been a member of the CPSU since 1970.

Each candidate then gives his views on what the role of the vice presidency should be. Abdulatipov sees the vice presidency as part of the executive branch of administration. If elected, he will take a particular interest in ethnic

and federal problems. As an economist, Sergeyev sees himself as Makashov's economic half. Zavidiya explains that Zhirinovskiy, who knows several languages, is better known abroad than at home in the Soviet Union. He has spent a lot of time overseas. As vice president, Zavidiya would like to combine this office with that of chairman of the Supreme Soviet. This would be an economic and practical arrangement.

The candidates then discuss the relationship that should exist among the vice president and the Supreme Soviet, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and the prime minister.

In a sidelight to this question, Zavidiya says: "Only seven functions should be concentrated in the center. These are foreign policy, defense, finance, transport, communications, energy, and ecology. The economy should be in one set of hands in the center. Everything else should be handed over to the local areas, regardless of what they are called—oblasts, provinces, or states. In other words, I believe that special attention should be given to the national issue. The national territorial division that now exists in Russia is, I think, completely wrong. In general, I think the word national should be removed from our vocabulary, leaving just the specific division into oblasts, provinces, or whatever. We should not even raise the question of Armenians or Azerbaijanis. This aspect should not be stressed."

He says that it will be easier for the prime minister to control the work of seven ministers than 100 ministers. The vice president and the prime minister will not have much to do with each other. They both have their own specific jobs. Sergeyev says he thinks that the question is irrelevant since the relationship has already been precisely defined by the Congress of People's Deputies. The vice president has an executive function, he insists. Rutskoy says the vice president must support his president. Abdulatipov says the vice president's job is to ensure that presidential decrees are implemented.

The candidates are then asked to review the past year's work by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies. Rutskoy says much has been done. He stresses the need for civic accord, rather than conflict. The new laws must now be implemented.

Abdulatipov says that some immense, revolutionary work has been done. He adds: "I would say that a very great deal was done by the first and second congress of people's deputies. Speaking at the Second RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies, I said that we are beginning to fall under the control of extremist forces. I expressed the hope that the chairman of the Supreme Soviet and the first deputy, Ruslan Imranovich, would shift toward the center. I am quoting verbatim what I said then. Unfortunately, this hope was not vindicated in all respects. Both the chairman himself and the chairmen of the chambers are to blame for this. The chairman of committees are also to blame. It cannot be said that only one person is to be blame for this, and that as a result

everything is being ruined. I completely disagree with this. I believe that this approach is incorrect. At the same time, I believe that the main thing that has reduced the effectiveness of our Supreme Soviet is the fact that we are basically beginning to copy Union policies, but in different respects. I am referring to the inconsistency of the policies themselves."

Abdulatipov continues: "I stress yet again: The parliament must stop being a slave to extremist forces, all the more so as the extremists are going full circle. I want to stress precisely this. Some of them—the extreme conservatives, for example—are hoping to drive this ship aground. In so doing they will expel the democrats who have not coped with the situation, and then sail on. The extremists among the democratic forces are also hoping to drive the ship aground and to expel the conservatives and sail on. The point is that it will be impossible to sail on." Abdulatipov praises the political results of the parliament's work but says more needs to be done to improve the economic situation and the morale of society.

Sergeyev then sets out the program of the Makashov-Sergeyev pairing. He says: "I am taking five minutes now to explain our position because I think that Albert Mikhaylovich Makashov and I are the only pair among the current presidential candidates whose program really is different from all the others. I think that today we should be speaking not about the order of work in parliament, but about the meaning, the content of the socio-economic course that is being conducted by both the Union parliament and the republican parliament. Albert Mikhaylovich Makashov and I have an alternative program, a truly alternative program, a different one from our colleagues in the presidential race, because they all advocate privatization. However, we believe that all private property should be in the hands of the labor force. We believe that enterprises should be handed over to the work force free of charge.

"All our colleagues, one way or the other, believe that unemployment benefits should be established. On the other hand, we believe that unemployment should not be allowed at all. We advocate the drafting and unswerving implementation of a full-fledged, integrated state program to ensure full employment for all. All our colleagues advocate a certain amount of compensation for the losses suffered by the population as a result of price rises, but we advocate an economic system in which prices would be stable and, in due course, would be reduced. Whereas both the Union and Russian parliaments advocate a solution to the crisis by securing large-scale foreign assistance and the opening of all doors and removal of all barriers to foreign capital, we believe that the crisis should be overcome by means of the patriotism, knowledge, and competence of leadership at all levels."

Sergeyev adds: "We consider that the socio-economic policies of all our state structures are changing direction

today. These changes are geared to defending the interests of a small group of people who make up no more than 3 to 4 percent of the country's entire population. For instance, one of the candidates for the post of president made a statement in Karelia yesterday or the day before yesterday, saying that he is defending the interests, first and foremost, of vulnerable sections of the population. I understand the feelings of people who smile when they hear such things, in the light of the statement made by Academician Tikhonov, an adviser to this presidential candidate, that owners of private property should become the dominant class in our country. At the same time, close confidantes of this candidate are saying that no less than 60 million people in Russia are loafers who should be punished with unemployment and inflation.

"I take advantage of this opportunity to tell Russia the following today: If Albert Mikhaylovich Makashov and I win, we will return prices to the level they were at on 2 April. We will rescind the price increases that have taken place. We have worked out ways of achieving this result, ways that are, in fact, known to the present state structures. We will introduce a progressive tax on inheritance. We will get such a tax adopted. All civilized countries have a progressive tax on inheritance. We consider that legacies of up to 50,000 or 70,000 rubles do not need to be taxed at all. Above that limit the tax should increase rapidly. Why isn't a progressive tax on inheritance being introduced? I simply do not understand why this matter was not resolutely tabled by a single deputy at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet or the Russian Congress of People's Deputies. I think this can only be understood if we stop closing our eyes to what is actually happening and draw the conclusion that the black market and black market capital are making inroads into all the structures of our state power, including the Russian Supreme Soviet and the Russian Congress of People's Deputies.

"I think one of the most obvious manifestations of this process is the confrontation between Artem Tarasov and the president of the Union. Basically, Artem Tarasov slapped the Union president in the face, but even though he is also general secretary, the president could not get either the USSR Supreme Soviet or the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies to give the go-ahead for the prosecution of Tarasov."

Torchinskiy says: "You have had five minutes, Aleksey Alekseyevich, but I would still like to ask you whether you are happy with the year's work done by the Russian parliament?"

Sergeyev replies: "Absolutely not."

Torchinskiy clarifies that he means the results of the work and the legislation, not the speeches and actions. Sergeyev replies: "It is absolutely negative, without question. Absolutely negative." He comments that the parliament will need to start from scratch.

Zavidiya agrees that the results are pitiful, especially regarding land reform. The work could have been far, he

says. Zhirinovskiy will get both left and right to work properly in parliament, Zavidiya claims.

Torchinskiy then addresses a question to Sergeyev. Torchinskiy asks: "Speaking at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, General Makashov said that he was not for privatization of the economy but for Sovietization. He said that the experience of Japan, the United States, and the countries of Western Europe should be utilized, especially their experience in combining planning and market regulators. In other words, he said we should use the experience of countries where everything is based on private property. I understand privatization, but what is Sovietization of the economy? Is one minute enough?"

Sergeyev replies: "That is clear. Yes, a minute is enough. Sovietization of the economy means that Soviet power must finally be established in our country. We are deceiving ourselves when we say that we have Soviet power in our country. By definition, Soviet power is a regime under which deputies are elected by work forces, not by the population of territories. The primary cell of Soviet power must be the soviet of the work force, elected at the enterprise and institution. What is more, the management should not be part of the soviet of the work force. The soviet of the work force is the supreme organ of economic administration at the enterprise. There is also a corresponding organ of administration of Soviet power there. When taken together, the structure of these organs provides the Sovietization of the economy. In other words, state property is not sold to the private sector, but enterprises and establishments pass into the total management control of work forces. That is what Sovietization of the economy really is.

"As far as the use of Western experience regarding combining planning methods and the market is concerned, I would like to say first and foremost that large assets must be maintained if a planned market economy is to work, whether these are public sector assets or private assets. In both the United States and Japan the main forms of economic organization are the very large concern and the transnational corporation, which is even larger. If the private property advocated by esteemed Andrey Fedorovich and others comes about in our country, this form of economic organization cannot be realized. If that basis is adopted, we can only go over to a free and primitive market, the type of market that existed in Western Europe at the beginning of the 19th century and which only exists today in the Third World, with all the unemployment and constant inflation that this entails."

Torchinskiy thanks him, but says his answer was too long. He asks Sergeyev to try to keep his answer to the next question brief. Torchinskiy then asks: "General Makashov also said that cosmopolitans dominate the press and are giving it a free hand to attack the generals, as he put it. This frightens me. Does this mean that the program includes a campaign against cosmopolitanism?"

Sergeyev responds: "You know, I think the campaign against cosmopolitanism is always relevant, if we really are talking about cosmopolitanism and not feigned cosmopolitanism or internationalism. Only fascists can struggle against internationalism. But the struggle against cosmopolitanism is, as you know, waged in all countries of the world. France is one example. Are you saying that they do not have patriotism there? There is patriotism there. If anybody there starts propagating cosmopolitan ideas, they do not meet with understanding in the thick of society, and society wages a struggle against them. This does not mean that this struggle should be waged by Pol Pot methods. Political methods should be used. In order to wage the struggle by political methods, it is enough merely to ensure that the whole of the press or almost the whole of the press is not given over to cosmopolitans. It is as simple as that."

Abdulatipov says that changes in political leadership do not mean that everything has to start again from scratch. Too much has already been destroyed during the last five years. Bakatin has a commonsense program, he says. He then comments on the position of women in Soviet society.

Rutskoy explains his reasons for supporting Yeltsin and expresses particular disagreement with Sergeyev's views. He says the country has already experienced everything Sergeyev is advocating. It has already been through the period of so-called war socialism. Yeltsin has won a measure of trust from the people over the past year. It is all very well to talk about reducing prices and handing everything over to the people, but all this has already been tried. Realities have to be faced. The problem of poverty must be resolutely tackled. Rutskoy makes a special appeal on behalf of war veterans and the disabled. Export of cars at lower prices should be stopped, so that Soviet citizens can have a chance to acquire them. He also says Afghan veterans should not be accused of having taking part in an alleged criminal war. Their specific problems must be tackled.

Rutskoy continues: "It is necessary to solve the problem of the Army. How did we get to a situation where in a society that we call socialism and call the socialist choice it turns out that 292,000 officers and warrant officers are without housing? If we multiply this figure by three family members, one gets a picture of a 1-million-strong army of homeless people. This problem then needs to be tackled. We do have raw materials and stocks. It is simply a matter of establishing a correct system of management and planning in regard to the various issues." Rutskoy goes on to speak of the importance of reviving national culture and complains of the shabby state of museums. He thinks that specific measures need to be taken in the ecological sphere.

Torchinskiy then gives each of the speakers one and one-half minutes to answer questions that have been sent in by viewers.

Sergeyev begins, and says: "Valeriya Yefimovna Tretyakova asks" if you pursue communist internationalist ideas, what relationship do you have toward the Pamyat society? I have never, nor do I have, any relationship towards the Pamyat society, and I have no intention of having one."

Zavidiya responds to a viewer's question by saying he has no intention of returning his plot of land if he does not become vice president.

Abdulatipov is asked by viewers why he has been opposing Boris Yeltsin and is now contending for the post of vice president. Abdulatipov replies: "As a person, and I always emphasize this, I like Boris Nikolayevich, but in regard to policy I consider that under the influence of extremists there is inconsistency in his policies. Herein lies the fundamental difference between our own program and the program that is being put forward in this instance by Boris Nikolayevich in the presidential elections."

Rutskoy then has a chance to answer a question: "The question says: In our country there have long been persistent rumors that in the event of Yeltsin being elected president, Pytalovo rayon will automatically be given away to Latvia. A referendum was held in that rayon and all the inhabitants expressed their opposition to this. Please confirm or deny this rumor, which could very much hamper Yeltsin's election campaign. Well, I can not believe what they saying about Boris Nikolayevich! You know, it is simply shameful to hear this. No one has had any intention of selling off, giving away, severing, or dividing up Russian land. It has been Russian and it will remain so, whatever happens."

Rutskoy answers a question about his attitude to a statement by Sakharov at the first congress regarding Soviet servicemen in Afghanistan, at which Sakharov spoke of secret orders to eliminate some encircled Soviet soldiers to prevent them being taken prisoner. Rutskoy recalls that Sakharov later explained to the congress that he had been given wrong information. Sakharov can at times make mistakes just like other people.

Torchinskiy thanks all the participants and the debate draws to a close.

Gromov Campaigns in Soviet Far East

PM0406140791 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 31 May 91 First Edition p 1

["Presidential Election" report by TIKHOOKEAN-SKAYA ZVEZDA correspondent L. Gapich: "Anguished Concern for Russia's Future"]

[Text] Boris Gromov, Russian vice presidential candidate and USSR first deputy internal affairs minister, launched his election campaign by arriving in Komsomolsk-na-Amur early on the morning of 27 May. The itinerary of his Far East tour is a busy one: That day Boris Vsevolodovich held five meetings at plants plus

meetings with militiamen and inhabitants of the city and ended it by taking part in a live broadcast on local television.

There is no denying that lately many people have gained an impression of our generals as staunch adherents of the long-lived administrative-edict system who have lost the ability to creatively accept innovation. But General Gromov was able to dispel this prejudice and justify Ryzhkov's description of him as someone who is "absolutely honest and sincere and possessed of the highest degree of intelligence and devotion to the interests of the people." His frankness, breadth of views, anguished concern for Russia's future, and passionate desire to make life better generated a sense of liking for the contender for the republic's second most important office from the inhabitants of this city remote from Moscow.

Of course, the inhabitants of Komsomolsk were primarily interested in the election manifesto of the Ryzhkov-Gromov pairing. Boris Vsevolodovich described it as well-considered and guaranteed against reckless measures.

Asked to describe Ryzhkov, Gromov stressed that the former had never been a party functionary and as a leader and economist had been engaged in specific work. Time has shown the correctness of his approach to reviving the economy and the social protection of the population.

Ryzhkov's recent illness does cause people in the Far East a certain alarm. They did therefore voice their concern at the meetings with Gromov that Ryzhkov's health might prevent him from taking on such a colossal burden. Gromov answered this by saying that they are ready to ask the appropriate bodies to set up an independent medical commission, possibly involving foreign specialists, to certify the state of health of not just Ryzhkov but all the presidential and vice-presidential candidates. The commission's findings should be published: The people should know to whom they are entrusting Russia's future.

Workers at the Yu.A. Gagarin Aviation Production Association told their visitor that the mistakes made during the switch to conversion have led to the plane-makers' being concerned today not by fulfilment of the plan but by where to get the money to pay the wages. Under the new economic conditions the people on the Far Eastern outskirts of Russia continue to be regarded merely as a source of raw materials. Suppliers of equipment and materials impose conditions on the people in the Amur region: Send the timber and fish and then we will meet your orders.

The Far East has been renowned from time immemorial for the good character, steadiness, and honesty of its people. In recent years all kinds of people have rushed there in search of fortune. Those sent to the locality by the courts have settled there after serving their sentence. Thousands of people on parole have appeared at the new

settlements. Something has happened to the indigenous inhabitants, too, some people have begun to show scant respect for the law. Speculators, monopolists [perekupshchiki], and clandestine businessmen have filled the cities of the Amur region. And the crime situation has reached dangerous proportions. Komsomolsk is one of the cities with the highest level of crime. Local militiamen spoke about all this at their meeting with USSR First Deputy Internal Affairs Minister Gromov. What is to be done here? How are the Far Eastern cities to have their good reputation restored? Boris Gromov will have to think about this if he becomes vice president, since he will be in charge of protecting law and order in the republic.

The next morning Gromov had a meeting in Khabarovsk. There he was repeatedly asked how it was that the program for the socioeconomic development of the Far East, in whose drafting Nikolay Ivanovich as head of the Union Government had played an energetic part, had foundered. Gromov again had to talk about the destructiveness of the political passions generated by perestroika.

"Today we talk a lot about our sins before God," Gromov said at the meeting with inhabitants of Khabarovsk and surrounding regions, "and completely forget that our guilt before the veterans, women, children, and internationalist servicemen is immeasurably greater. We stand guilty before our fatherland for the destruction of the identity of our culture, the decline in our mores, and the instability of our moral bases. But I do not wish to charge anyone specific here—all of us who failed to preserve the inviolable purity of our common human values are guilty. It is now time for us to put our own house in order. Order at the production unit, on the sovkhoz [state farms] and kolkhoz [collective farms], in the army, and in every establishment, and order in our thinking are as necessary to us as the air, as a life-saving gulp of oxygen. People's thinking has been completely confused by the political battles. This is what we intend to address if the Russian people entrust the key posts to us. But I am not here advocating dictatorship, the desire for which is imputed to me. Or rather, I recognize only one dictatorship—that of conscience and the law. I am in favor of normal human relations, love for the motherland and love for one's mother, brother, and sister. I want people in Russia to be able to live and work in peace and to be able to make plans and carry them out. The choice of president and vice president gives the chance for all this to be carried out. That is enshrined in my joint program with Nikolay Ivanovich. We make improvement of people's lives the chief element of it."

"How do you regard private ownership?"—the general was asked at the meeting.

"In general terms, positively. But I am flatly opposed to the private ownership of land. Land cannot be the object of buying and selling."

"You came on a special flight. But the radio has said that a lot of money is spent on this out of the party coffers."

"That is a malicious fabrication. First, as a USSR people's deputy and Hero of the Soviet Union, I am entitled to free travel to anywhere in the Soviet Union. Second, the aircraft on which I came together with a group of workers from various departments was leased by the Internal Affairs Ministry. Third, each pair of candidates has been allocated equal sums of money to organize their election campaign. So neither the people nor the party coffers have suffered as a result of our trips."

"Could you forecast the results of the 12 June election? Are the contenders' chances being analyzed?"

"Such analysis is being carried out, and very carefully. But please allow me not to talk about what such analyses show—they are very changeable. And making forecasts in our case is a thankless task."

Criticizes Democrats in Speech

OW0306030691 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1500 GMT 1 Jun 91

[Text] Contender for Russia's vice-presidency Boris Gromov addressed servicemen of the Leningrad military district today. He is presenting the final version of the Ryzhkov-Gromov election program, he said.

Gromov urged those present "to save their Motherland by ridding it of the tough struggle for power launched by the democrats". He condemned the country's and Russia's leadership for "unwise conversion which led to disrupting the production of defense equipment, for criminal privatization, for ethnic conflicts and for the economic crisis". Ryzhkov's program, said General Gromov, is the only program ensuring reform.

When asked by IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent whether Ryzhkov and himself intend, if elected, to enter into open confrontation with Russia's parliament should its policy fail to coincide with their intentions, Gromov declared: "I hope there will be no conflicts, at least from our side."

Silayev Assesses Far East Meeting

LD0406174191 Moscow Radio Rossi Network
in Russian 1300 GMT 4 Jun 91

[Text] As you will know from our bulletins, a meeting of the coordination council of the Far East Association of Soviets of People's Deputies has taken place. The head of the Russian Government, Ivan Stepanovich Silayev took an active part in its work. Let us listen to an account by (Sergey Belyayev):

[(Belyayev)] This trip to Khabarovsk was a strictly working visit for the Russian premier. The coordination council of the Far East Association invited Silayev and a number of his ministers to its working meeting. Two

issues were examined. The first was on the urgent measures to stabilize the socio-economic situation in the region, and the second on the concept of economic and social development of the Far East region for the period up to the year 2000.

A kray that is one of the richest in resources, is now dragging out a miserable existence. Every day this position is getting worse. Unfortunately this is a picture that has already become typical for many many krays and oblasts of our long-suffering country. It was the search for new ways of development that brought the head of the Russian Government Ivan Stepanovich Silayev to Khabarovsk. I asked him the following question: What role to you give to the Far East region in tackling, in implementing your government's program for stabilizing the economy and switching to market relations?

[Begin Silayev recording] I believe that the geological and geographical position makes it possible to move more boldly in the region toward broad integration with the Western economy and to get results more quickly, and namely on the basis of market principles. It is here that the main free economic zones have been declared by the Supreme Soviet. Here, too, there has been a more energetic movement toward market principles. And combined with the interests of Western firms, ranging from Japan to the United States, which are geographically close, and with the great interest in natural resources, it seems to me that here we can and should not only solve the problems of this region, and this must of course be done first of all, but also solve a number of problems relating to supplementing [word indistinct] Russian coffers for the purpose of tackling social programs in Russia as a whole. [end recording]

[(Belyayev)] So, the premier has outlined his stance. The Far East plus Russia: In other words, that solving the problems of the region should mean, to a certain extent, solving the numerous problems of Russia as a whole. He was to say this many times during the meeting.

Incidentally, the work of the meeting began with a rather typical (?knocking of one and all). The leaders of Khabarovsk Kray, as hosts, opened the meeting with numerous demands on the government. I must admit that this surprised me. After all, this was approximately how local leaders' meetings with the government used to go in recent years, now known as the years of stagnation. But Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, to give him his due, steered the discussion into a constructive channel. He proposed that sensible solutions to existing problems be sought, and inquired what specifically Russia would gain after solving the matter of giving priority to the development of the Far East region. That was when the real, earnest work began. Members of the association made specific proposals and put forward interesting programs. Silayev took an active part in the discussion of all matters and listened attentively to all recommendations. I asked him: How many of the recommendations and proposals made to the Russian Government blend in with the design of the Russian program?

[Begin Silayev recording] They blend in fully, and if you open the last section of the program, Section Nine, that is, on interaction with territories, regions and republics, then you will see that this is precisely what we have in mind and, furthermore, when we get down to developing—we have already begun—to the working, to the course of the implementation program, we will take into consideration the documents of this meeting and the experience of the association's work as a whole and we will place these principles in the working implementation program. [end recording]

[(Belyayev)] Serious and vital matters were resolved at the meeting in Khabarovsk, and they were resolved mainly on the basis of market principles. Draft decisions were passed on each set of problems. These documents require slight revision but the sides reached agreement in principle, as is customary to say in such cases. The Far East Association and the Russian Government have become partners who want and are able to work together and constructively to solve the problems facing them.

Ivan Stepanovich Silayev gave a positive assessment of the meeting. He noted that this kind of example of cooperation between the Russian Government and an independent regional structure can serve as a model for the future development of relations between the government and other territories, krais, and oblasts of Russia. The Russian premier also gave a positive assessment on the very setting up of the Far East Association.

[Begin Silayev recording] We can see that this association exists not on paper but in real life, although naturally not everything here is well. In my view, certain things have even been overdone in the area of transferring a Union or republican enterprise to the ownership of local authorities. We do not put the matter this way. When we are striving for enterprises to be removed from Union structures, we do not say: Hand them over to our jurisdiction. We fight for their economic independence. After all, it is important for local authorities to have financial resources, including foreign currency, to tackle social problems, and the main source of these resources is the income of enterprises.

But these are, I would say, problems of an (organizational) kind and, on the whole, I like the fact that having joined together, they want to solve many economic problems through cooperation. This is very important for us at the moment. After all, from Moscow we cannot introduce some kind of regulating principles, for it is too far away. So, perhaps, we need to think further and provide this association with some, perhaps, partial state functions. [end recording]

[(Belyayev)] Ivan Stepanovich also stressed that the acute problems facing the people of the Far East can only be solved on the basis of the transition to market relations, for the time being, noted the head of the Russian Government, members of the association are

carrying out the transition to market principles rather timidly at a time when they need to act more boldly and resolutely.

Ivan Stepanovich Silayev's visit to Khabarovsk ended with a meeting with members of the city's public. He told them in detail about the Russian Government's program to stabilize the economy and switch to a market. Our program is realistic, said Silayev. But for the program to be implemented successfully, it must be widely supported by all citizens of Russia.

Officials Criticized on Nuclear Accident Rumors

PM0406105991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 29 May 91

[Valeriy Bakarinov report entitled "An Old Woman Told Me," from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Bakarinov] There is no denying that life has become more interesting. There is more information available than people can cope with. And most important, it all comes from the most reliable sources. Today, for example, according to some highly accurate rumors, it became known that a nuclear reactor had exploded in the Stupino area. A huge cloud happened to be passing just in time to pick up the fallout, carry it in the direction of Moscow, and dump it there in the form of heavy radioactive rain. A terrible thing to happen, of course. People are talking about nothing else. Yet it is quite easy to establish that there has never been any kind of reactor in Stupino.

Andrey Vladimirovich, where, if not at the KGB, is it possible to distinguish between rumors and the truth?

[A.V. Olegov, deputy chief of a service of the Moscow City and Oblast USSR KGB Directorate] The rumor sprang from a short report published in MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS claiming that staffers at two research institutes in Moscow's Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon had started falling ill one after another. We checked out this report. There had been a leak of fluorine compounds as a result of which people experienced symptoms closely resembling tonsillitis. These two institutes are part of the Ministry of Atomic Power and Industry system. And the Moscow Engineering and Physics Institute, which has one nuclear reactor, is located nearby. Instead of verifying details, many of our official functionaries—I would prefer to describe them simply as official fools—started passing on information, and, what is more, via official channels. For example, the rayon health department informed local kindergartens over the phone that they should prepare to evacuate the children. At the same time further information was added to the effect that maybe nothing had happened here, but something had happened somewhere else.

[Bakarinov] You are referring to Stupino, are you not?

[Olegov] Yes, Stupino. Incidentally, for the information of the inhabitants of Stupino, and others, Stupino is

ecologically probably the cleanest area in Moscow Oblast. And immediately the rumor was further elaborated. Suddenly something was supposed to have happened in Obninsk.

[Bakarinov] In my opinion, this rumor went beyond Moscow. After all, people living many thousands of kilometers from our city are interested in this kind of thing.

[Olegov] This is why we have to pour cold water on all this false information and appeal yet again to the people who start up this chain, this vicious chain of false, misleading information.

First Congress of People's Front Held 1-2 Jun

PM0406160191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 4 Jun 91 First Edition p 3

["Direct Line" report by Major S. Knyazkov: "First Congress of Russian People's Front"]

[Text] Moscow—The first constituent congress of the Russian People's Front took place 1-2 June in the USSR Supreme Soviet building on Novyy Arbat Avenue.

The Russian People's Front [RPF] is an all-Union sociopolitical movement which seeks the creation of a rule-of-law democratic flourishing society on condition that the state is preserved within its present territorial borders. This, as well as the desire to ensure equal rights for all citizens living on the territory of the Soviet Union, unites the RPF with the all-Union "Soyuz" people's movement, to which it belongs as an associate member.

V. Skurlatov, secretary of the RPF and one of its founders and activists, gave the main report. In a condensed thesis form he expounded the movement's program, which has been given the name "To the People's Wealth!"

Military questions were broached to varying degrees at the congress. The delegates and guests stressed in their speeches the need to preserve a powerful, united army equipped with modern hardware.

Obviously, the upcoming elections for RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president were not ignored at the congress. Speaker V. Skurlatov proposed to the delegates that they cast their votes for any candidate other than B. Yeltsin, explaining this by the fact that he connects his name (the name of the one-time honorary chairman of the RPF, let us note) with the possible establishment of a "neopopulist authoritarian regime" in the country.

In conclusion the congress adopted a program and statutes and elected the leading organs of the RPF.

Objections to Renaming of Leningrad Reported

PM0406105391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 May 91 Second Edition p 1

[Report by G. Seleznev: "We Shall Defend Leningrad"]

[Text] Telephone calls to the editorial office are not abating, the piles of letters from readers in various cities and settlements are mounting. In making the decision on a referendum, the newly emerged Leningrad authorities were probably reckoning that there was no one left to defend the city's name and that the feeble old men and women, the veterans of the blockade who are living out their bitter days, do not count. The local deputies, who call themselves democrats, have long taken no account of them, and if nothing happens, they get away with everything. Leningrad City Soviet chairman A.A. Sobchak already sees himself as the mayor of Saint Petersburg: I do not know whether he is studying German, but he is zealously preparing a zone where "all flags are welcome...."

Take a walk through downtown today and you will be convinced that instead of the usual food stores and small booths, currency "shops" are already opening everywhere or are preparing to receive guests. But do not turn into the side streets—you will break your leg in the pot holes. Do not climb the dilapidated stairs into the houses where the elderly live in communal apartments. There are neighborhoods whose description would be beyond the talent even of Krestovskiy, the author of "The Slums of Saint Petersburg"; they are a real Saint Petersburg: Is that where the Leningraders are being driven?

But it looks as though the chairman has made a big mistake. To judge by the public response, the defenders of Leningrad in no way share the raptures of the local authorities regarding the alteration of the city's name. The flood of appeals to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Russian Supreme Soviet demanding the repeal of the illegal referendum is growing. People are sincerely angry that the congress of Russian deputies which has ended did not adopt any decisions on this score. They had sufficient will to interfere in the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, despite the protest from the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, but they did not have the nerve to express themselves on the most topical issue of the forthcoming referendum in Leningrad. So try to dispute the thinking of those who believe that Sobchak's lobbyists are dictating decisions not only to Yeltsin and Silayev but also to the entire deputies corps. The USSR Supreme Soviet deputies are also delaying the expression of their opinion. Is it not the same forces that are operating?

There is one point on which I can reassure alarmed readers: Even if the question of the referendum is not removed, even if the number of those anxious to live in Saint Petersburg somehow exceeds half the total, they will still not be the ones to make the final decision. However vigorous is the present Leningrad City Soviet under its doctor of juridical sciences chairman, the

decision of the Second Congress of the country's soviets of people's deputies, at which the city received the name of Lenin, is not for them to repeal.

But nor should we rely solely on the fairness of the country's deputies. The opponents of the renaming of the city will probably remember episodes from previous elections to the Leningrad City Soviet and above when the ballot slips appeared from who knows where and the voting figures were rigged. At each polling station a close eye is needed as is tougher public control over the present sovietocracy, which is taking over from the former partocracy.

Chita Issues Ultimatum to Gorbachev

*OW0306111791 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1500 GMT 1 Jun 91*

[Text] The council of Chita region, its executive committee, the regional federation of independent trade unions and the regional Communist Party committee sent an ultimatum to President Gorbachev.

According to the message, the economic collapse, natural disasters that have been plaguing Chita region for 3 years in succession, the concentration on raw materials production which characterizes the local industry: all this has placed the local economy in a desperate situation and brought living standards to an extremely low level. Food rationing is now considerably lower than it was in war time.

The leaders of Chita region demand in their ultimatum that a governmental commission with extraordinary powers be sent to the area. If their demand fails to be met, they'll have to establish control over the passage of transit cargoes, including imports, remove them from trains in accordance with official allotments for their region and considerably cut their contributions to the needs of the local military district and other special center-run consumers.

Western Republics

Ukraine's Kravchuk on Sovereignty, Tasks

*AU0406164191 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 29 May 91 pp 1, 3*

[Interview with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk by Hungarian Radio Correspondent Andras Hajdu; in Kiev, date not given: "Sovereignty Step by Step"—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk will visit Budapest on 30 May. The 57-year-old politician was elected as president of the Ukraine's Supreme Soviet in July 1990. Previously, he was the deputy secretary of the Ukraine's Communist Party, after fulfilling various party functions for three decades. He is a doctor in economic sciences. He gave this interview in Kiev recently, a few hours after submitting the concept of the

republic's new constitution at a parliamentary meeting. This interview was prepared by Hungarian Radio correspondent Andras Hajdu who gave it to NEPSZABADSAG.

[Hajdu] Mr. President! The agenda of the current meeting also includes the proposal to enact the statement on Ukraine's sovereignty adopted last year into a law. What is the real content of the Ukraine's independence and sovereignty today, and what could this mean in the future?

[Kravchuk] The most important thing now is to adopt the constitution as soon as possible. Despite all the political complications and debates, the Supreme Soviet elected for one year has already succeeded in legislating laws that represent some steps toward sovereignty. Now we must adopt the constitution. We must create presidential power, and we must elect a president who will be able to act fully independently and supported by the people, a president who possesses an adequate legal sphere of authority. We must also solve the issue of ownership, in other words, in accordance with our Sovereignty Statement, everything on the Ukraine's soil should be the property of the Ukraine. We must then decide about the new Union, as a federation of sovereign states.

[Hajdu] Do you favor the Ukraine's taking part in this federation?

[Kravchuk] Not taking part. The Ukraine was part of this federation until now. We must now establish a federation in which the Ukraine would not be part of this federation, but would participate in it as an independent and sovereign state with full rights, a state that—similarly to other sovereign states participating in this federation—would delegate a certain amount of its power.

[Hajdu] Will this sovereignty also include your own currency, finances, and armed forces?

[Kravchuk] We start from the premise that we own everything. Delegating part of this power would be the second step. We must have our own legal, political, and other structures in the areas of property, finances, and the defense of domestic interests. For example, we must have our own Interior Ministry troops. As for our external defense, we think that, presently, the Union should fulfill this function. We must not disintegrate because this would destabilize the world situation and this would lead to fears in Europe and elsewhere that 15 different countries have now emerged, instead of one country with which they have had agreements so far. Discussing with politicians and businessmen in Switzerland and Germany recently, I noticed this concern and, honestly speaking, I understand them. When such a huge state is beginning to crumble in their vicinity and it is becoming instable, and who knows where this uncertainty could lead; there is reason for concern. Therefore, we must be extremely wise and circumspect on these issues. We must not be led by ambition alone, but we

must consider both the interests of our own country and those of Europe and the world at large. We must not create a situation that could upset the world balance and threaten the system of agreements and the policy of understanding. However, if we only consider our own interests and start building our own military industry and army, this would represent unbearable burdens for us in the middle of such economic deterioration.

[Hajdu] Can one talk about independence as long as the ruling party belongs to the center; that is, while the Ukrainian Communist Party is not independent?

[Kravchuk] Our party already took some steps toward independence when it adopted its own statute at the 28th congress. The congress also adopted the party's own program principles that differ considerably from the similar document of the CPSU, and our program aims at creating a sovereign Ukraine. However, we cannot yet say that the Ukrainian Communist Party is an independent party.

[Hajdu] Are you striving to achieve independence for your party similarly to the Lithuanian Communist Party?

[Kravchuk] There is such an effort coming from some of the party members, but it is hard to tell whether this is a majority trend. I think that most of the basic party organizations and party members in Eastern and Southern Ukraine do not want an independent party.

[Hajdu] Mr. President! The process of democratization has led to the collapse of the so-called socialist regime in Eastern-Central Europe, and the Communist Parties lost their power. Do you think that a similar process could also take place here?

[Kravchuk] There is nothing to collapse here. There was no socialism here that could collapse. They only spoke about socialism, but in reality, what emerged here was an administrative-totalitarian regime. This must be firmly liquidated. This can be done with a revolutionary explosion, as it happened in many Eastern European countries. This can also be done in another way, a longer and evolutionary way, in which these regimes are eliminated on the basis of laws and constitutional norms. I think the most important thing is to make sure that no human life falls victim to this process. If we have a historical chance to achieve sovereignty by peaceful means, to eliminate the administrative-totalitarian regime by peaceful and legal means, and to build a new society by means of democratic laws, we must make use of this opportunity.

Ukraine Parliamentary Body Discusses Constitution

LD0406153391 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 4 Jun 91

[Mykola Marynenko report on the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Parliamentary Constitutional Commission meeting held on 4 June in Kiev; portions within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] [Marynenko] Members of the constitutional commission, at a meeting called following discussion of the first version of the republic's draft constitution, observed that all proposals and additions submitted to the parliament have been incorporated into the second version of the document. Specialists believe that up to 20 percent of the contents in the first variant have been changed. The session passed in an atmosphere of sharp exchanges. Stanislav Hurenko, leader of Ukrainian communists, and a Ukraine people's deputy, lent to the session this tone:

[Hurenko] "The draft concept defines the Ukraine as a national state. This point has been raised repeatedly by us, particularly as to the definition of the Ukrainian nation. It seemed to me that we were in agreement. We just cannot ignore the fact that in the Ukraine we have over 100 nations and ethnic groups. They are united by common historical fate.

"Then I attend the Supreme Soviet session. I hear: The rights of the Ukrainian nation cannot in any way be set against the rights of other nationalities. Thus, as you see, the terms Ukrainian nation, and other nationalities, are used again and again. More precise definitions are also needed in some other articles. For example, by inserting 'socialist choice,' we do not mean the phrase that has already sufficiently bored everyone here, but a socialist orientation of social development."

[Marynenko] Having heard Stanislav Hurenko, members of the commission immediately joined the battle. The rostrum was given to Vladislav Nosov, member of the work group:

[Nosov] "I would like to dwell on the suggestions here, and at the session, that there is no need to define the Ukraine as a national state. The work group was told to base the draft on the state sovereignty declaration, the first chapter of which defines the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic as a sovereign national state. Therefore, if someone has any pretensions, they should be addressed not to the work group, not to the constitutional commission, but to parliament. It should be asked to redraw the declaration."

[Marynenko] Nosov was supported by deputy Viktor Bedz:

[Bedz] "While discussing the new variant of the concept, we should retain respect for the Supreme Soviet, which has already passed it as a base to build upon. To submit any additions which substantially change the conceptual theses would be incorrect and irrational. For example, at the session we voted against the much argued 'socialist choice,' so now, please forgive me, let us stick to the terminology we already adopted."

[Marynenko] Ten members took part in the discussion. It was sharp, often dividing the forum into two poles as to the future Ukraine Constitution. In this connection, deputy Mykhaylo Holubets, representing the Narodna Rada, noted that endless exchanges notwithstanding, the

commission must decide the cardinal question: What kind of state are we going to build? Substantiating his thought, Holubets noted:

[Holubets] "It must be a true Ukrainian sovereign state. It would be better if we put a period here, and refused to turn to the question on whether the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic will be part of the Soviet Union [words indistinct]. The draft Union treaty sent to the Presidium once again puts the republic into much greater dependence, despondency, and impotence than did the Stalin constitution. Let us be firm: We are to build a sovereign state, and then proceed further. If we fail to reach an agreement on this, then we will have to split: to create two constitutional commissions, with each preparing its own variant to be submitted for the people's judgment."

[Marynenko] The commission also discussed the questions as to whether it would be expedient for the Ukraine to have the post of vice president; does the Ukraine need a Presidential Council; when should presidential elections be held. Deputy Mykhaylo Voloshchuk advanced the following proposal:

[Voloshchuk] "We must have our own president as soon as possible. The Ukraine and its leadership do not have the necessary mandate in the center or abroad for seriously representing our Ukrainian state. The president is president. He has the right, as you know, to speak and express thoughts on behalf of the people of free Ukraine. At present it is difficult for Kravchuk to raise these questions. We feel this clearly, for example, at Federation Council sessions in Moscow. Who is at the helm of our state is of great importance. We must do everything possible to elect a president as quickly as possible.

Ukrainian Republican Party Opens Second Congress

*OW0306111691 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1500 GMT 1 Jun 91*

[Text] The Ukrainian Republican party [URP] opened its 2nd congress in Kiev on Saturday.

More than 500 delegates to the congress represent 9,000 party activists, the party's chairman, prominent Soviet dissident Levko Lukyanenko, told IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent. But our supporters include hundreds of thousands of people. Therefore we are the second in importance party in the republic, he said.

The congress, said the URP leader, will evaluate the political situation and outline the directions of struggle for an independent Ukraine and for the implement of the U.N. Human Rights Declaration in the Ukraine. It will also make amendments to the party's program and rules.

Chairman Reelected

*LD0306121591 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service
in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 2 Jun 91*

[Text] The Second Congress of the Ukrainian Republican Party ended in Kiev today. It introduced changes and additions to the party's program and ruled out fostering growth and strengthening the guiding role of its leaders.

Levko Lukyanenko, Ukraine people's deputy, was again elected URP chairman. Stepan Khmara and Oleh Pavlyshyn, from Lvov, were elected deputy chairmen. Stepan Khmara held the same post earlier.

Discord Noted

*LD0206201891 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1416 GMT 2 Jun 91*

[TASS-UKRINFORM correspondents Mikhail Melnik and Aleksey Petrunya]

[Text] Kiev, 2 Jun—Disagreements among the leaders of the Ukrainian Republican Party on tactics for achieving full independence for the Ukraine were exposed at the congress of that political organization which ended today in Kiev. Whereas Levko Lukyanenko, chairman of the URP, insisted in his review report on the priority of the national concept over the class concept, and proposed cooperation with parties and movements which advocate sovereignty for the republic, Stepan Khmara, his deputy, categorically rejected any alliance with the Ukrainian Communist Party, describing it as the "handmaiden of the CPSU." In fact, support for these positions on the part of congress delegates divided them into two camps—the moderates and the radicals. The contradictory nature of their positions was also reflected in assessing the growth in numbers of party members. During the year since it was founded it has almost quadrupled. In the opinion of Levko Kykyanenko, the number of party members could be even more but, as he himself admits, "the ideas of the Republicans have not yet gotten through to the broad masses; the Communist Party's primary organizations must be squeezed out in the localities." Stepan Khmara in turn spoke against any mechanical growth in the party, and called for an active campaign for all power to be handed over to the people.

All the addresses contained hints that the parliamentary opposition, Narodna Rada, should leave the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, thus creating a parliamentary crisis. That is what is needed in order to hold new elections on a multi-party basis. Otherwise, stressed delegates, the Narodna Rada, along with the parliamentary majority, will be responsible for a political and economic crisis in the republic.

The congress made changes and additions to the program and charter of the party, and elected URP leading bodies. It also set up a Party Ethics Commission which will be answerable only to the congress.

A resolution was also adopted stressing that the main aim of the URP is to create a Ukrainian independent unitary [sobornoye] state, assert democratic order, and develop civil order based on common human values.

Caucasus

Armenia's Ter-Petrosyan's Activities Reported

Briefs Supreme Soviet

NC0406120191 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network
in Armenian 1730 GMT 3 Jun 91

["Report by Mavr Danielyan from the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet session"—radio headline]

[Excerpts] The people's deputies, like all Armenian people, are primarily concerned with the current political situation in the republic, the question of Nagorno-Karabakh, and the lawless acts being committed there by the Azerbaijani Special Purpose Militia and the Soviet Army.

That is why the first agenda item of the second session of the first convocation of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet, which reconvened today, was again devoted to the republic's domestic political situation.

This issue had, in fact, been examined during the previous session but was postponed due to the complex situation then existing. [passage omitted]

Before examining the items on the agenda, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, Supreme Soviet chairman, spoke about his visit to France from 20-26 May and his meetings with the French President Mitterrand, presidents of the constitutional council and parliament, mayor of Paris, and other officials.

[Begin Ter-Petrosyan recording] I left for France with first deputy premier Grant Bagratyan because the visit also envisaged contacts with the French ministries involved in economic matters. I met President Mitterrand as planned. The meeting, which took place on 22 May, lasted almost an hour. That meeting also served as the opening for a series of nonofficial meetings. [passage omitted]

Regarding the political aspect of the meeting: The fact that the French president has received the leader of a republic is significant in and of itself. This is the fundamental significance of this visit. A year or even six months ago such a meeting would have been unimaginable. At that time, the West unreservedly cooperated only with the USSR center and in no way wanted to encourage and (?develop) its contacts with the republics. But, developments are moving fast and three months ago the attitudes changed. The change took place with a slight change: We were told during our direct contacts—during my contact with the German ambassador and the prime minister's contact with the U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, it is not coincidental that the issue was

brought up almost at the same time—that we establish relations with the provinces and not (?direct) relations with [words indistinct] republics. Hence it was at that time that the question of establishing relations with California was conceived. The Germans were suggesting establishing relations with the state of Hessen. As you remember, we have already signed a protocol on conducting relations with the Veneto Province in Italy [word indistinct].

All this happened in the second stage in our relations. We are now entering the third stage; this is yet another step towards relations with the republics. The West is no more recalcitrant towards starting direct state level relations with the republics. This was the fundamental political significance of this visit because it can be said that the West is now genuinely convinced that it is no longer possible to disregard the republics when conducting relations with the USSR. This is how the West aims to win Gorbachev's cooperation. This is how they are softening the confrontation of the republics with the center and thus, in their opinion, conditions are being created for a more harmonious relations between the republics and the center. From this point of view the visit should be assessed as being positive because it achieved its basic objective. At the end of his statement, Mitterrand stressed that this is the beginning of our contacts and that he welcomes any sort of relation. He requested that we keep French authorities continuously informed about the developments taking place here and keep in constant contact. He also expressed readiness to (?receive me) whenever necessary. This is the entire political aspect of the visit. [words indistinct]

Other French officials did not hide their indignation regarding the atrocities committed against the Armenian people. Mitterrand, too, said that they cannot close their eyes to such happenings. They were referring to human rights violations and the atrocities being committed against the peaceful population by the army. These issues are not confined to a state's internal affairs. (?They assured us that) they will not turn a blind eye in such situations. Of course the opposition's position was more clear-cut, they expressed their opinions more openly, in particular Paris Mayor Chirac. [passage omitted]

Regarding our independence process and democracy, let me say that Europe is not distrustful of these processes, more so in view of the fact that our independence process fully conforms to the USSR Constitution and laws. The West has no argument against the course we have chosen, and they have to admit that they cannot reject this trend since everything is taking place within the framework of Soviet laws and Constitution. [end recording]

Grant Bagratyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian Republic Council of Ministers, reported about the contacts held and agreements signed in France.

Next, the session debated the domestic situation in the republic. Speaking on the issue, Levon Ter-Petrosyan noted that everything should be done to keep the public alert and not to miss any opportunities. Some steps in this direction have already been taken.

A large team to disseminate information was established under Gagik Arutyunyan, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet. A plan was worked out to shape public opinion in the Union and throughout the world. The next move involves intensive contacts with Moscow on government, supreme soviet, and law enforcement organs.

Ter-Petrosyan described the present situation this way: Though the situation remains tense and isolated incidents are taking place, active operations by Moscow and Azerbaijani Special Purpose Militia Detachment have stopped. This shows that Moscow considers the operation concluded at this stage. Ter-Petrosyan described Moscow's policy as terrorism against the Armenian people. Moscow tried to provoke the people against the authorities and wanted to show their lack of power. They could not do it.

Ter-Petrosyan discussed the latest situation in Nagorno-Karabakh. He said two issues require a concrete solution: The release of the hostages and the return of the residents of Berdadzor and of the villages of Gadruitskiy to their places of permanent residence. These problems have the leadership's attention. Today, a group of hostages, who were subjected to administrative penalty, will be released. Those who are charged with crimes should be transferred to prisons in Russia or in other republics. It is possible that after the parliament's session he or the prime minister will go to Moscow for serious talks.

Chairperson Babken Araktsyan stated that grave charges leveled against the detainees have been revoked.

The deputies then observed a minute of silence in memory of Albert Ovannesyan, a Yerevan city soviet people's deputy and chairman of the Armenian Cooperatives Union.

The session confirmed father Ter-Husik Lazaryan as deputy chairman of the Central Commission on the republican referendum.

The session then continued to debate the republic's domestic situation. Five deputies proposed ending the discussion because of the uncertainty surrounding the problem. It was decided to continue the debate on Wednesday.

The session then started the debate on the bill on changes in the prices of consumer goods and services and the indexation of the incomes of the population. After debate, the bill was endorsed at the first reading. However, the government was advised to put forward proposals for a system of market protection at the same time that it decides to put the bill into effect.

The session also discussed the issue of creating a state committee on geology and a ministry of industry.

The session will continue its deliberations tomorrow.

Interviewed by Swedish Paper

PM0406093391 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER
in Swedish 28 May 91 p 9

[Report on undated Yerevan interview with Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan by Anders Steinvall]

[Text] Yerevan—In December 1988 Levon Ter-Petrosyan was thrown into a cold prison cell by the Soviet authorities. He was being punished for the political activity which finally brought him to the post of Armenian president. Now he is leading the republic toward independence.

Ter-Petrosyan is one of the many new political leaders in the Soviet Union who have now had their revenge on the system which punished them in the past.

It was therefore natural that there was a degree of satisfaction in Ter-Petrosyan's demeanor when he received me in his large office in the Armenian capital.

Nestling comfortably in a soft armchair—and chain-smoking imported cigarettes—he told me how from a hopeless point of departure Armenia has drafted a seemingly realistic plan to leave the Soviet Union and become independent.

Armenia, with a little over 3 million inhabitants, quite simply intends to follow the rules that central Soviet power has set up. The republic's leader is coolly counting on success.

A referendum will be held on 21 September this year. The people will be given a simple question: Yes or no to secession from the Soviet Union?

The republic has a homogenous population. Now that the Azerbaijani minority has fled because of the ongoing conflict, around 95 percent of inhabitants are Armenians.

There is therefore no doubt that an overwhelming majority will vote for secession.

"We will follow Soviet legislation on secession from the Union. However, to be absolutely sure that a majority really does want independence we require a two-thirds majority for secession," said Ter-Petrosyan, formerly a prominent linguist.

"We are very well aware that if people vote for independence on 21 September, this does not mean that we can declare independence on 22 September."

Two Soviet republics—Lithuania and Georgia—have already declared independence. However, in practice they are still firmly caught in Moscow's grasp and their independence is largely symbolic.

Armenia is choosing a different route and accepts the five-year transition period required by Soviet legislation on secession.

"We are satisfied with that arrangement. These five years give us a chance to prepare for real independence. We can organize our economic independence," Ter-Petrosyan said.

In a short time Armenia has already implemented a comprehensive dismantling of the "Soviet" economy in part through far-reaching privatization.

Only a year ago independence was an unreal idea for the majority of Armenians. Their country has no coastline and is more or less surrounded by traditional enemies.

Many people thought that an Armenia without the protection of the Soviet state would quickly be crushed by its neighbors.

Relations with neighbors, particularly Turkey, is a sensitive topic. Hundreds of thousands of Armenians were killed by the Turks in 1915 in what Armenia still mourns as major genocide.

"From the political viewpoint the most important thing about the transition period is that we will have time to establish relations with our neighbors, and with Turkey above all. We have already initiated contacts with Turkey and have met with understanding of the mutual advantages of such relations."

Leaders in a number of Soviet republics claim that the Soviet law on secession is a bluff by President Mikhail Gorbachev and is actually intended to make secession impossible.

If this is true Ter-Petrosyan will probably be the man who calls Gorbachev's bluff.

However, the new Armenian leaders who took office last year are facing a number of immediate problems.

The conflict with Azerbaijan, which was initially about who should rule the disputed area of Nagorno-Karabakh, has now entered an even more serious phase.

Gorbachev has openly backed the Communists—who are loyal to Moscow—who rule Azerbaijan. The Soviet military is operating from the Azerbaijani side of the border.

At least 50 Armenians have been killed in the clashes of the past few weeks.

Ter-Petrosyan said that the aim of the brutal intervention by military forces in the area in the last few weeks has chiefly been to support Azerbaijan's communist leader, Ayaz Mutalibov.

In Ter-Petrosyan's view, Moscow needs Azerbaijan as a counterbalance in Transcaucasia where both Armenia and Georgia are seeking independence.

"To keep Mutalibov in power and to be able to destabilize the situation in Armenia, Moscow needs the trump card of Nagorno-Karabakh," Ter-Petrosyan said.

The conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh, which is chiefly inhabited by Armenians but which is ruled by Azerbaijan, flared up in 1988.

Ter-Petrosyan was then one of the leaders of the so-called "Karabakh Committee" which demanded that control over Nagorno-Karabakh (which was lost in 1921) be returned to Armenia.

It was for this activity that Ter-Petrosyan was imprisoned.

Now, as president, he has a more diplomatic approach to the Karabakh problem. He has set aside the absolute demand that Nagorno-Karabakh must belong to Armenia.

"We are offering a compromise. All parties—Armenia, Azerbaijan, Nagorno-Karabakh, and Moscow—should declare a moratorium on all decisions made during the conflict," Ter-Petrosyan said.

Armenia is striving for the restoration of the status quo, the restoration of the situation which prevailed in 1988 when Nagorno-Karabakh was formally an autonomous part of Azerbaijan.

"Then Nagorno-Karabakh can engage in its own negotiations about the region's future," Ter-Petrosyan said.

According to the Armenian president, in February this year Gorbachev was very close to accepting this solution, but backed off at the last minute.

"There are forces who do not want to see a solution to the conflict. As long as it continues Moscow can interfere in the affairs of both Armenia and Azerbaijan."

Ter-Petrosyan is also certain that Moscow will not voluntarily let Armenia go free, even though the republic is following the rules Gorbachev himself drew up.

"The empire will do everything it can to keep us. But the question is: For how much longer will the empire exist?"

Armenia Not To Participate in Union Treaty Talks

NC0406123291 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 3 Jun 91

[“Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium’s May 31 Message to the President of the USSR M.S. Gorbachev, Moscow, Kremlin”—ARMENPRES headline]

[Text] In response to the invitation extended to the chairman of the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet,

L.H. Ter-Petrosyan, to take part in the preparatory committee's Novo Ogarevo meeting to continue work on the draft Union treaty, the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium considers that:

The situation in the region continues to be exceedingly tense due to the familiar incidents that took place in the last month. Virtually no effective measures are being taken to return to their permanent places of residence the Armenian population which was deported from Getashen, Martunashen, Berdadzor and from the villages of Gadrutskiy Rayon of NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] in May of 1991. In addition, hundreds of hostages are still being held. What's more, in spite of the existence of a five km buffer

zone, the Armenian Republic's villages are being periodically shelled from Azerbaijani territory: armed bandits are infiltrating Armenia's territory and terrorizing the peaceful population and are multiplying the number of killed and injured.

In the prevailing situation, and in the absence of a reply to the constructive proposals of the republic's leadership for the solution to the fundamental issues, the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium believes that the participation of the chairman of the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet in that meeting would not be expedient.

[signed] Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium

[Place and date] Yerevan, 31 May 1991